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ABSTRACT

Sponsored by an endowment to Indiana University, the Lincoln Era Essay Contest has been held since 1982. Students in grades 6 to 12 may submit essays that address some topic dealing with Abraham Lincoln's presidency. A new topic is chosen each year. Written by middle school/junior high and high school students, this year's 19 essays concern President Abraham Lincoln and his two vice-presidents: Hannibal Hamlin and Andrew Johnson. Some of the titles are: "Lincoln and His Vice-Presidents in Caricature" (E. Broxmeyer); "Lincoln, Hamlin, and Johnson" (S. Silver); and "President Lincoln's Two Great Mistakes" (J. Veverka). (DB)

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LINCOLN ERA ESSAY CONTEST

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ELEVENTH ANNUAL WINNERS - 1992

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LINCOLN ERA ESSAY CONTEST

Eleventh Annual Winners - 1992

ESSAY THEME:
PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS VICE-PRESIDENTS

WILLIAM CAGLE

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Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana
For more information on the **Lincoln Essay Contest**, contact the
Social Studies Development Center, 2805 E. Tenth Street,
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405, (812) 855-3584.

INTRODUCTION

The Lincoln Era Essay Contest, sponsored by an endowment from the estate of Frank L. Jones, was established to promote interest in and understanding of Abraham Lincoln and his time among students throughout Indiana.

Frank L. Jones' enthusiasm for Lincoln extended beyond the endowment of the Lincoln Era Essay Contest. In 1942, Mr. Jones, along with the Ball brothers Foundation of Muncie and the late Will Irwin of Columbus, made possible the purchase by Indiana University of the important collection of Abraham Lincoln materials which had been assembled by Joseph B. Oakleaf of Moline, Illinois. This collection, numbering approximately 8,000 books and pamphlets as well as manuscripts, photographs, caricatures, and other illustrations of Lincoln and his circle, came to the University in 1942 and now is housed in the Lilly Library.

Frank L. Jones made the Indiana University Foundation the ultimate heir of his estate, securing first a lifetime interest in its income for his daughter. It was Mr. Jones' wish that the earnings of his bequest provide funds for the University to add to its Lincoln holdings and sponsor this annual essay contest, and it is to honor this wish that Indiana University established the Lincoln Era Essay Contest. Since 1982, the first year of the contest, students from sixth to twelfth grades in many Indiana cities and towns have submitted essays in competition for prizes of up to $100.00 each. Indiana University takes pride in presenting in this volume the work of the successful contestants for 1992.

William R. Cagle
Lilly Librarian
Indiana University, Bloomington

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LINCOLN USES HIS VICE-PRESIDENTS TO NURTURE HIS POLITICAL CAREER

By ANGELA BRAUN

Angela Braun was a student at J.E. Thompkins Middle School in Evansville, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Dennis Kuhlenhoelter.

There's an old saying in Washington, "you can't be a great statesman if you don't get elected." I do not have a source for this; it is just a well-known saying. Let's take a look at Hannibal Hamlin's and Andrew Johnson's biographies and see if Abraham Lincoln played political games in choosing his Vice-Presidents.

Lincoln's first Vice-President, the 15th Vice-President of the United States, was Hannibal Hamlin (1809-1891). Hamlin was born in Paris Hill, about forty miles north of Poland, Maine, attended local schools and nearly Hebron Academy, and practiced law in Hampden, ten miles south of Bangor. Hamlin's political career began in the Maine House of Representatives where he represented his district for four years, 1836-1840, and was the speaker for three of these years. In the Maine legislature, in the United States House of Representatives from 1843-1847, and in the Senate from 1848-1857, Hamlin was a loyal Jacksonian Democrat until he broke in 1856 from his party because of its stance on slavery and joined the Republicans. In the same year the new Republican became Governor of Maine, but, after less than two months in the office, Hamlin returned to the United States Senate ("Johnson," Funk and Wagnall's, 1983 ed).

As a Senator with little secretarial help, Hamlin conscientiously answered thousands of letters from constituents and he wrote almost daily to Ellen and frequently to each of his three older children. Hamlin did not like Washington and probably did not consider establishing a family residency there. Instead, as a Congressman, Senator, and Vice-President, he lived in a succession of boarding houses and hotels, usually without his family.

Hannibal Hamlin enjoyed a good dinner and received in a week about ten invitations to dine, but he was not convivial. He wore coats and collars long out of fashion and his latest biographer, H. Draper Hunt, characterized Hamlin as "the stalwart but rather dull man from Maine" (Dunlap 93).

After the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency by the Republican convention in 1860, the party leaders secured the nomination of Vice-President for Hamlin on the second ballot. Hamlin's obvious qualifications for the nomination were his antislavery record, his New England background and residence, and his seasoning as a legislator. He wrote to Ellen that he "neither expected or desired" the nomination, but, as a faithful member of the party, he had an obligation to accept, which he did in a letter much longer than Lincoln's (Dunlap 93).

President-elect Lincoln invited Hamlin to visit him in Chicago to become acquainted and to discuss the formation of the new administration. Hamlin responded to the warm informality of the President-elect and his wife, "a small, plump, handsome woman" whom the senator was sure Ellen would like. "I think she is one of your kind of women exactly," Hamlin wrote from Chicago.

Hamlin had to miss the wedding of his son, Charles, in order to meet the Lincolns shortly after the receipt of his invitation, but he saw the young couple in Washington soon after the beginning of the new year. Ellen was told by her husband, "You will find [their new daughter-in-law] a modest and pleasant woman - and they are the brightest jewels that can adorn a woman" (Dunlap 94).

Ellen traveled with her husband in February 1861 to Washington to attend his inauguration as Vice-President. The first night of their journey was spent in the Revere House in Boston and the second with relatives at Windsor Locks in Connecticut. On the 20th the Hamlins reached the Astor House in New York. According to the New York Tribune:

> Mrs. Hamlin's about twenty-five years of age, smaller, and not as full in form as Mrs. Lincoln. She has a mild blue eye, rather sharp features, but a gentle expression of face.

The Hamlins dined that evening with the Lincolns in the latter's suite and afterwards the two couples went to a performance of Verdi's The Masked Ball at the Academy of Music where they were roundly cheered. The Presidential party left the opera after the first act and returned to the Astor House where Ellen Hamilton and Mary Todd Lincoln hosted a reception. Later Ellen held a second reception in her own parlor (Dunlap 94).

The Lincolns left New York for Washington on the 21st, and the Hamlins followed early on the 22nd. The Hamlins crossed the Hudson in a gaily decorated ferryboat, were escorted to Newark in a special train by a Vice-Presidential party which included Lincoln's friend, David Davis. They traveled the last leg of the trip to Washington in a special car which was scheduled to leave Philadelphia at noon on the 23rd (Dunlap 94).

From her seat in the balcony of the Senate Chamber, Ellen saw her husband sworn in at noon on March 4th by his predecessor, John C. Breckinridge. In the evening she attended the Inaugural Ball in the "Palace of Aladdin," a temporary plank structure built next to City Hall and decorated with red and white muslin and seals of the federal government and of the states.

Music for dancing began at 11:00 p.m., but ten minutes later the band played "Hail to the Chief," as the President and his party arrived. Lincoln was escorted into the hall by Hamlin, the Mayor of Washington, and Senator Anthony of Rhode Island. Mrs. Lincoln entered on the arm of Senator Douglas and Mrs. Hamlin was escorted by Senator Baker of Oregon. Mrs. Lincoln wore a rich blue gown set off with a necklace of gold and pearls and Ellen created a "marked sensation" in a dress of white silk trimmed with blonde lace and rosebuds, a flowered headdress, and jewelry of pearls and diamonds (Dunlap 95).

As the beginning of April, Ellen and Hannibal Hamlin left for Maine. They reached

Bangor on the 4th and went at once to nearby Hampden. Hamlin left Bangor on April 22nd for New York City, and on May 26th be returned to Washington.

As Vice-President, he has no duties of consequence, and President Lincoln gave him no assignments. Hamlin once complained that he was "the most unimportant man in Washington, ignored by the President, the Cabinet and Congress." Ellen was with her husband in Washington at the end of March, 1862, and the couple were members of a group of dignitaries who traveled in a steamboat from Washington to Hampton Roads to go aboard the U.S.S. Monitor shortly after its much-publicized battle with the C.S.S. Virginia (formerly the Merrimac). General Wool, who came from Fortress Monroe to join the distinguished visitors, dined with the Hamlins and others in the party.

Despite Hamlin's misgivings about the Vice-Presidency, he wanted a second term. Lincoln, however, believed him too radical and did not support his candidacy. The 1864 National Union convention, a coalition of Republicans and pro-Union Democrats, nominated Tennessee Democrat Andrew Johnson to run with Lincoln. Republican leaders hoped Johnson would be better able than Hamlin to attract votes in border states and among northern Democrats (Dillar 122).

From reading Hamlin's biography, we discover that Lincoln chose him because he thought Hamlin would help him get elected. In fact, they never even met until after the election.

The fact Lincoln never gave Hamlin any duties further demonstrated his selection was solely political. However, these was a side benefit to Hamlin's selection. Lincoln once said that he had no fear of political assassination because the man that would succeed him, Hannibal Hamlin, was at least as objectionable as himself to Confederates and Copperheads (Hanchett 23).

Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's second Vice-President, lived his early years with grinding poverty. He was born on December 29, 1808, in a cabin a few yards from Casso's tavern in Raleigh, North Carolina, where his father, Jacob Johnson, worked as a porter until he became the porter in a local bank. Neither Jacob nor his wife, known as "Polly," could read or write, and she helped her family by taking in laundry. Andrew's father was drowned in an effort to save the life of a man who couldn't swim. He left his widow, their first son, Bill, nearly nine, and Andrew, barely three.

"Aunt Polly," as she was called in Raleigh, could not support herself and her two boys and in 1854 she married Turner Doughtry, a "poor white," who proved to be a worthless husband. "Polly" and her second husband bound the two boys to a local tailor, James J. Selby, where Andrew showed his mettle by wanting to learn to read. Somehow, without a teacher, the youth of fourteen or fifteen learned the meanings of simple words without regard to their spelling or use in sentences (Dunlap 100).

He was recognized by workingmen in Greenville as a powerful speaker and they elected him alderman and then mayor of the town. In 1835, 1836, 1839, and 1841, Johnson served in the Tennessee legislature. In 1843 he was elected to the United States House of Representatives, where he served for ten years and vigorously supported the "Homestead Bill." After two terms as governor of Tennessee (1853-1857), Johnson returned to Congress but this time (1857-1862) as a Senator (Dunlap 98).

Although Johnson favored most liberal legislation, he defended slavery as a Constitutional right; yet, when other Southern Senators withdrew at the outbreak of the Civil War, Johnson proclaimed his loyalty to the Union. In 1862, President Lincoln appointed Johnson Military Governor of Tennessee, an office in which he showed the wisdom of Lincoln's tolerant reconstruction policy.

As a result of President Lincoln's desire to seek reelection as the head of a national party, the National Union Convention in June, 1864, chose the loyal Tennessean to be Lincoln's running mate. When elected to the Vice-Presidency, Andrew Johnson was little known outside of Tennessee and Washington. He had not delivered a major speech in a large eastern city and he had never (even) visited New England. The new Vice-President was a Southerner but not of the mold of Southern leaders familiar in the North or the South (Dunlap 100).

Lincoln and Johnson defeated McClellan and George Pendleton by 212-21 electoral votes. Some Johnson supporters however changed their minds when Johnson showed up intoxicated for the inauguration on March 4, 1865. Lincoln shrugged off the incident and expressed confidence in his new Vice-President (Dillar 45). Later after Lincoln's assassination, Johnson became the only President ever elected who had not attended one day of school (Dillar 45).

Johnson's nomination, it appears, was also almost entirely politically inspired in order to attract some of the Southern votes after the war. The proof of this in Johnson's biography is the fact that little thought was given to the reorganization of the Republication Part if he should succeed to the Presidency.

Another indication that Johnson's sole purpose was to help Lincoln get elected was the fact that when Johnson was drunk at the inauguration, it did not bother Lincoln very much. In other words, his work had already been done. Lincoln was elected.

We can draw a pretty safe conclusion from the facts we have studied here that without taking any lustre from Lincoln's reputation as a statesman, he also believed in the old saying, "You can't be a great statesman if you don't get elected."

It appears that both Hamlin and Johnson were nominated for Vice-President for mainly political reasons: Hamlin, to consolidate the North and Johnson to woo the Southerners. There is a passage about opportunity in the play, Julius Caesar, which seems to be appropriate in regards to Lincoln's actions:

> There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
> On such a full sea are we now afloat,
> And we must take the current when it serves,
> Or lose our ventures (Shakespeare 595).

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PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS VICE-PRESIDENTS

By REGINA BROWN

Regina Brown was a student at Shawe Memorial in Madison, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Beth Steinert.

"Our government rests in public opinion. Whoever can change public opinion can change the government, practically just so much." These were the words of Abraham Lincoln following a Republican defeat in the Presidential election of 1856. Lincoln was true in these words; he did change the public's opinion. Lincoln convinced the Union states that they had to fight: to take aim at other Americans to keep the states together.

Lincoln gained the support of the common people because of his mastery of words, humor, overall his verbal power. Lincoln could express his thoughts well. So well that one historian suggested, "So inferior to Lincoln was Davis as a wartime President that if the North and South had exchanged Presidents, the South would have won the war."

As the sixteenth President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln had two Vice Presidents: Hannibal Hamlin for his first term and Andrew Johnson for his second term. Hamlin was not considered for a second Vice Presidential term because President Lincoln wanted a Democrat on the 1864 Republican ticket. Ironically, Hamlin began his political career as a Democrat. However, due to his dissatisfaction with the Democratic policy toward slavery, he went over to the Republicans in 1856. His speech of June 12, 1856, in which he renounced his Democratic allegiance, was widely quoted for campaign purposes and proved to be very effective.

During the following years, Hamlin's Republican career took off. He was elected governor of Maine, but served only a short while as he resigned in order to once again serve in the Senate. As his reputation grew, he came to be identified with the anti-slavery issue. The political needs of 1860 made him a logical choice as Lincoln's running mate.

Having won the election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln was faced with one of the greatest crisies in the history of the United States. Even before Lincoln was inaugurated, seven states had already seceded from the Union. In his Inaugural Address, Lincoln warned the South: South:

> "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you... You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend' it."

Lincoln clearly shows in his speech that he despises war, but that it is up to the citizens of the Southern states whether or not they want war. Lincoln says as President of the United States he will do all he can to uphold the Union, for that is his utmost concern.

While returning from Lincoln's inauguration in March of 1861, Andrew Johnson, then Senator of the state of Tennessee, came close to being hanged by a mob in Lynchburg, Virginia. Southern loyalists had dragged him from the train, kicked him, spat upon him and, dropped a noose around his neck with the intention of hanging him. Johnson was marked as a traitor by Southerners because, of all the twenty-two Southern senators, he alone supported the Union and refused to secede with his state. According to the story, Johnson was let go after someone made a " sporting suggestion" that Johnson's home state of Tennessee be allowed the honor of hanging their own traitor. The Civil War had already begun and Virginia was about to secede from the Union at the time of this occurrence.

When Johnson managed to return safely to his home in east Tennessee, he campaigned strongly against secession, of which he referred to as "hell-born and hell-bound." Despite Johnson's efforts in support of the Union, the governor proclaimed Tennessee part of the Confederacy on June 24, 1861. The Tennessee militia had orders to arrest Johnson as a traitor, but he managed to escape. Within a year Johnson became a strong supporter of Lincoln, despite the fact that he was a Democrat. On several occasions he defended Lincoln strongly in the Senate.

When the Confederate government of Tennessee withdrew from the capital at Nashville in February 1862, Lincoln rewarded Johnson's loyalty by sending him there to serve as military governor. His main task was to organize the people who were loyal to the Union, assure their protection, hold free elections, and restore federal authority in the state. Johnson proved to be worth of being chosen for this difficult assignment, for he somehow managed to hold on to Nashville while making plans to "adjust Tennessee to Reconstruction and Reconstruction to Tennessee." Through Johnson's efforts, Tennessee was the first of the Southern states to be reconstructed and the only one to escape military government after the war.

While running for a second term, Lincoln was looking for "a man who could help bind the nation's wounds at the conclusion of the war." He did not feel that Hannibal Hamlin was that man. For even though Hamlin had presided over the Senate with dignity and ability and was on cordial terms with President Lincoln, Vice President Hamlin was a strong advocate of emancipation, and had come to be identified with the "Radicals" of Congress. It has been suggested that due to "party exigencies" in 1860, Hamlin was elected, and his failure to be renominated in 1864 may have been due largely to the same causes.

As his Vice Presidential running mate, Lincoln chose Andrew Johnson. Due to Johnson's loyal work in Tennessee and his unique position as a Southern Unionist, Lincoln believed that by choosing Johnson as his running mate in the 1864 election, his ticket would help to "erase sectional lines." In addition, Johnson was a leading member of the war Democrats, a group of Democrats who had been loyal to Lincoln throughout the war. Before the election of 1864, Johnson, along with other War Democrats, joined Republicans to form the National Union Party. It was this party, also known as the Union Party, that was responsible for nominating Lincoln for a second term as President and for nominating Andrew Johnson as its candidate for Vice President. The newly formed team of Lincoln and Johnson won the election with a large majority since the public was now confident that the war was going to be won.

In his planning for peace, Lincoln proved that he "was an expert politician, a clear-headed thinker and a wise and courageous leader who knew when to be immovably firm and when to loosen the reins." His Second Inaugural Address, now inscribed on one wall of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., so clearly displays his talents. It began: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds...."

Unfortunately for Johnson and the nation, he lacked Lincoln's rhetoric and skills in getting people to work together. His Vice Presidential inauguration, on March 4, 1865, seemed like an omen to his career at the White House. For on his way to the ceremony, Johnson, who had recently recovered from a case of typhoid fever but still in a weakened condition, made an unwise decision to stop and drink some whiskey in hopes that it would strengthen him. Being in an already weakened condition, the whiskey caused Johnson to become tipsy in the heat of the Senate chamber. When Johnson took the oath of office, he gave a rambling and disorderly speech. A Democrat newspaper called him a "Drunken clown."

Even though the people did not yet know, this "drunken clown" was soon to become the President of the United States. For on April 14, 1865, Lincoln was assassinated. Only six weeks after Johnson's poor showing at the Inauguration, he became the President of the United States, proving that the Vice President is only a heartbeat away from the most powerful elective office in the world.

As provided by the Constitution of the United States, a Vice President must be ready at a moment's notice to become President or acting President if the President dies, resigns, is removed from office, or becomes unable to perform the duties of office. To date, there have been fourteen Vice Presidents who have become President. Eight of these became President due to the death of a President, and as such have come to be known as "accidental Presidents." Andrew Johnson was one of these.

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LINCOLN AND HIS VICE PRESIDENTS IN CARICATURE

By ERIC BROXMEYER

Eric Broxmeyer was a student at Westlane Middle School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when he submitted this winning paper. His teacher was Roy Crumly.

"What kills a skunk is the publicity it gives itself," was said by Abraham Lincoln, one of our most famous Presidents. This quote describes the political situation nowadays very well. Politicians today would give an arm and a leg, while campaigning for an office, to win someone's vote. In doing so they often give off the odor of the skunk. But in the 1800's, it was undignified to go out and campaign for yourself. That doesn't mean other people couldn't express how they felt about the candidates. One of the ways people expressed how they felt about issues and people in Lincoln's time was the political cartoon.

The comic strip played a part in shaping every chapter of the strange and moving career of Lincoln and his Vice Presidents.

> ..."In the years that have elapsed since the close of the Civil War, the fame of Lincoln, the grandest figure in that conflict, has taken on majestic proportions, and, influenced no doubt by the august place he now holds in our history, people no longer recall that he was the most bitterly assailed man of his time. Such, however, was the fact, and one has but to study the cartoons, or to search the newspapers and periodicals of the period to find striking confirmation for it."

The pens were sharp and the cuts were not gentle in the years of Lincoln's reign. Lincoln's looks were often a target of many cartoons. One cartoonist went as far as the describe Lincoln as

> ..."a bearded ruffian, vulgar charlatan and repulsive beast", then went on to add, "his eyes were filled with demonic cunning, his feet stretched to grotesque size, his hair messed until it became a shaggy mane, his face twisted into a sinister look and his back was broken until it sagged like a gorilla."

Thus some cartoons are anti-Lincoln and attack Northern policies and armies. Nonetheless, when the cartoons are seen by impartial men, they seem beautifully drawn and written.

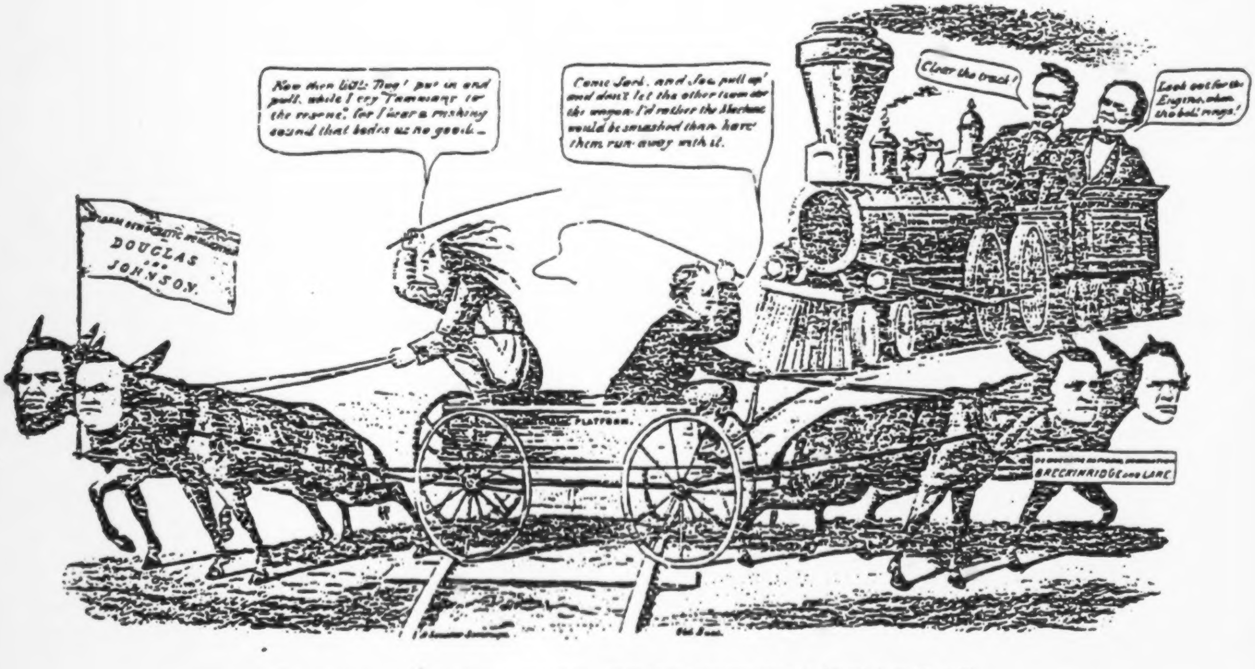
There were many different places cartoons could be found. Newspapers and poster cartoons were very popular in Lincoln's time. One of the most popular print makers of their time was Currier and Ives. Currier and Ives was a firm of lithographers. The company printed many pictures and cartoons about the events in the 1800's. Currier and Ives published about twenty-five cartoons in which Lincoln appeared, most of which were drawn by Louis Maurer.

The cartoon (see Figure 1) was drawn by Louis Maurer in July, 1860, for Currier and Ives. The numerous nominees for the Democrats in 1860 gave many cartoonists ideas for political cartoons.

In this particular cartoon there is a cart labeled "Democratic Platform." This cart, with two drivers for each side, represents how both Democratic candidates are trying to pull the Democrats to their own side. Neither side is pulling the cart hard enough to move the cart to their direction, so the Democrats are not going anywhere. This represents why the split Democrats did so poorly in the election of 1860. Lincoln and Hamlin are in a fast moving train that is about to destroy the Democratic cart. This represents how Lincoln and Hamlin will destroy the chances for a Democratic team and thus win the White House.

Pulling on one side of the cart is the Northern Democratic team, Stephen Douglas and Hershel Johnson. There is an Indian driving the Northern Democrats side of the cart. The Indian is saying, "Now then Little Dug! put in and pull while I cry 'Tammany to the rescue', for I hear a rushing sound that bodes us no good." Tammany was a corrupt political group in New York City that controlled the city, and supported Douglas and Johnson. When the Indian says"...for I hear a rushing sound that bodes us no good," he means he hears Lincoln and Hamlin coming in a train to destroy their Democratic cart, and the Northern Democrats' chances in the election.

On the other side of the cart are the Southern Democrats who are running for the


Now then little Dug! put in and pull, while I cry Tammany to the rescue! for I hear a rushing sound that bodes us no good.—
Come Jeff. and Joe pull up! and don't let the other team drag the wagon. I'd rather the Machine would be smashed than have them run away with it.
Clear the track!
Look out for the Engine, when the bell rings!
DOUGLAS AND JOHNSON.
PLATFORM
BRECKINRIDGE and LANE

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY_PROSPECT OF A SMASH UP.

Plate No. 12 Progressive Democracy—Prospect of a Smashup, Currier and Ives, July, 1860

FIGURE 1

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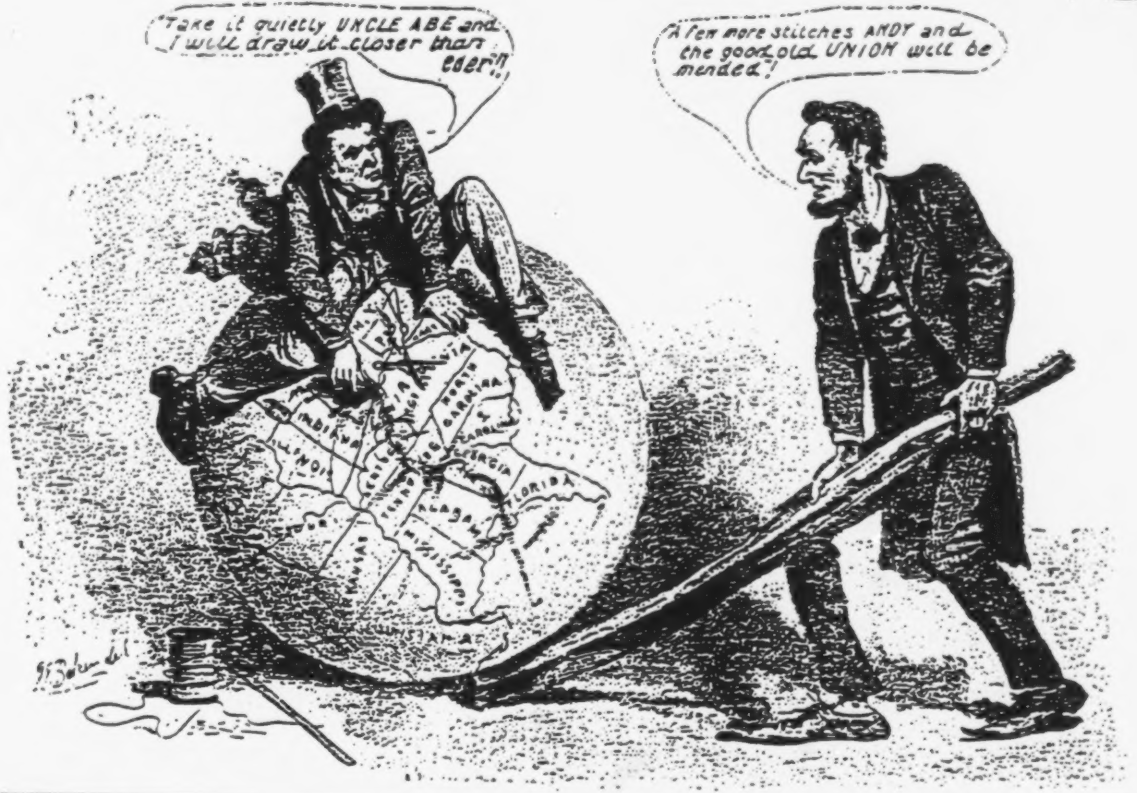
"Take it quietly UNCLE ABE and I will draw it closer than ever!!"
"A few more stitches ANDY and the good old UNION will be mended!"
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
NORTH CAROLINA
S. CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
ALABAMA
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
LOUISIANA

PLATE No. 132 The Rail Splitter at Work Repairing the Union, Currier and Ives, July, 1864

FIGURE I

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offices of President and Vice President, John C. Breckenridge and Joseph Lane, respectively. This end of the cart is driven by President Buchanan. He says, "Come Jack and Joe, pull up. And don't let the other team stir the wagon. I'd rather the machine be smashed than have them run away with it." Buchanan means that he will not agree with the Northern Democrats, and he would rather have Lincoln win the election than have the Northern Democrats win.

This picture shows Lincoln and Hamlin in a locomotive, fast approaching the cart, and will thus destroy the Democratic cart. Lincoln says, "Clear the track." Hamlin adds, "Look out for the engine when the bell rings." Equal Rights is written on the engine of the train. When Hamlin says, "Look out for the engine when the bell rings," he means that Lincoln and he are going to stand up for equal rights, and that is the issue that will bring the downfall of the Democrats in the election of 1860.

The election of 1860 was a bad omen for the candidates of a divided party. There were many cartoonists who took advantage of this. This is only one of the many cartoons that showed how Lincoln and Hamlin would win in 1860.

This cartoon (Figure 2) was drawn by Baker for Currier and Ives in July 1864. This cartoon shows Vice-Presidential candidate Andrew Johnson, a tailor in his youth, uncomfortably seated on a huge globe. The U.S. is shown face up on the globe, and Lincoln is trying to balance the globe and the U.S. with one of the rails he split in his youth.

Johnson says," Take it quietly, Uncle Abe, and I will draw the line closer than ever." This shows that Johnson will help Lincoln in his task of repairing the Union.

Lincoln says, "A few more stitches, Andy, and the good old Union will be mended." Lincoln means that it will only be a little while before the North and the South will be reunited. This cartoon shows the relationship between Lincoln and Johnson.

The cartoon, Figure 3, was published in September, 1864, by Currier and Ives. In this cartoon Lincoln, holding a cue labeled Baltimore, is winning a game of Bagatelle, and is being watched by people who were active in the government during Lincoln's era.

Bagatelle was a game, played in the 1800's, that was similar to pool. The platform is labeled "The Union Board," which represents the Union. Lincoln appears to be trying to shoot the balls into the holes, or put the states back in the Union. Lincoln says, "I'll do the best I can, Andy, I can do no more."

Johnson reassures Lincoln by saying, "Hurrah for our side, go ahead Old Abe! O ain't he bully on the Bagatelle? You've only got a few more to make, it's a sure thing." This means Johnson is behind Lincoln and giving him support by telling Lincoln he's almost got the Union back together, and he will definitely get the Union back together. This cartoon shows how people can find humor in a political situation such as the Civil War.

The history of political caricature has passed through four phases. In the first phase, woodcuts and copper engravings were put out. In the second phase the lithograph was used. Then, around the beginning of the Civil War, cartoons appeared in weekly papers. Now, a century after Lincoln's time, political cartoons have found their place in daily papers.

> Even though a portion of the following quote may seem unclear, the overall idea is pertinent: "And what did Lincoln think when he found himself so readily caricatured? The cartoons undoubtedly served for his entertainment and instruction. With his humor, he probably enjoyed them as much as anyone else, the raillery of the artists at his expense, even when their wit was trenchant and caustic. He could hardly have dreamed, however, that his physical appearance and his qualities of leadership, the stories he told and the renewing timeliness of his insights, would make him the most fertile historical subject for the cartoonists of our present day."

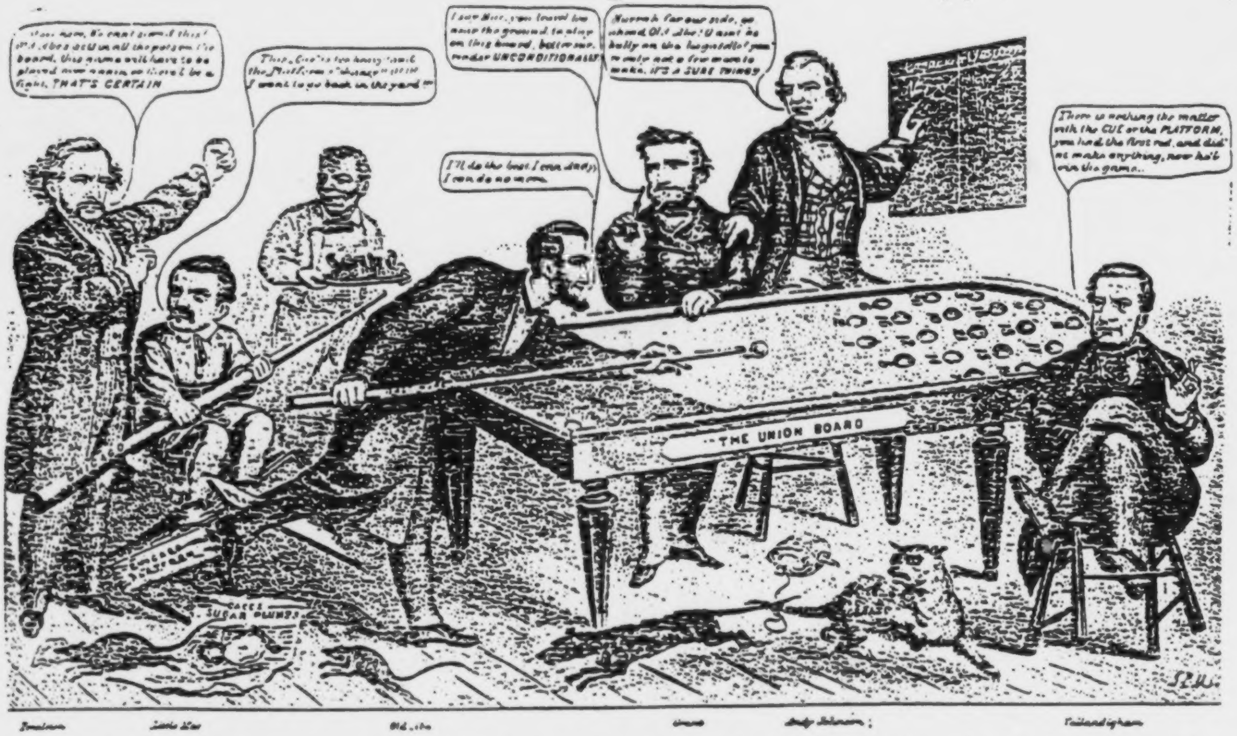
[illegible] now, We can't stand this! Old Abe's got in all the pot on the board, this game will have to be played over again, or there'll be a fight, THAT'S CERTAIN
This Cue's too heavy and the Platform's "shaky" !!!! I want to go back in the yard!
I say Mac, you travel too near the ground to play on this board, better surrender UNCONDITIONALLY
I'll do the best I can Andy, I can do no more.
Hurrah for our side, go ahead Old Abe! U aint no bully on the bagatelle! you've only got a few more to make. IT'S A SURE THING!
There is nothing the matter with the CUE or the PLATFORM, you had the first cut, and did'nt make anything, now he'll win the game..
THE UNION BOARD
SUGAR PLUMS
Fremont
Little Mac
Old Abe
Grant
Andy Johnson
Vallandigham

PLATE No. 136 A Little Game of Bagatelle, between Old Abe and Little Mac, Currier and Ives, September, 1864

FIGURE I

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LINCOLN AND HIS VICE PRESIDENTS

By SARAH DANSKER

Sarah Dansker was a student at Westlane Middle School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Roy Crumly.

Never before in the past or recent history of this country has a President entered into office during a time when the land he was to govern faced incredible change and potential turmoil. President Buchanan was quite happy to leave office at the time since he did not have to face the upcoming events. The nation was in a state of potential disaster, with leaders in some states hoping to break away from the Union, while others were hoping to pull the Union together. Old political parties were splitting up while new ones were being formed. The nation was crying out for leadership and direction. Political parties were scrambling for candidates.

The newly formed Republican party wanted a candidate who could unify the states and still address the slavery issue that was so crucial to the southern states. The candidate the Republicans chose to face this enormous challenge was Abraham Lincoln. The party then wrote a platform of what they felt were issues to be addressed in the country and chose another man, Hannibal Hamlin, a popular, experienced Republican, to help their candidate, Lincoln, provide the leadership so desperately needed.

The Republicans and Lincoln succeeded in securing the Presidency. Yet, despite all attempts made by Lincoln, the country still went to war. Toward the end of the first term, the Republican Party still supported the firm, solid, kind and visionary Mr. Lincoln but chose a new Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, a Southern War Democrat, with the potential to help the Republicans unify the war-torn states. The selections of Lincoln/Hamlin and the Lincoln/Johnson were made with thought, purpose and hope. Lincoln and his Vice-Presidents were chosen because of their unique characteristics to supply strong and specific leadership to a country in need at a crucial time in its history.

Abraham Lincoln was seen as a common man; a worker, he was often called "Rail Splitter." In 1849 Lincoln was elected to the House of Representatives, and served until 1864. However, he choose not to run for reelection in 1849. In the 1850's Lincoln returned to politics just as the issue of extending slavery into new territories was heating up. In 1856 he became a Republican.

Two years later Lincoln ran for the U.S. Senate, losing to Democrat Stephen Douglas. However, Douglas and Lincoln met in seven debates. These debates made Lincoln a national figure as he argued that slavery was wrong. At the Chicago convention in 1860, Lincoln won the presidential nomination on the third ballot.

Abraham Lincoln was a man of principle, intelligence, sensitivity, elegance, and purpose. He had proven himself as a man that would uphold the Constitution and help America become the country envisioned by his forefathers. If it was the wish of the party, Lincoln said he was available to run.

Hannibal Hamlin was a very active member of the Republican Party. As a Senator he spent nearly a decade of productive work. In this second year in the Senate, he became chairman of the Committee of Commerce. The committee dealt with the American trade system, while devoting its attention to customs, shipping, marine services, revenue, harbor and river improvements, coastal survey and lifesaving. Hamlin's goal as a chairman was to make steamboat a safer way of travel.

In 1802 Hamlin and Senator Davis drafted a Senate bill dealing with safety regulation for steam boats. As a chairman of commerce, he supported many measures for improvement of river and harbors. Hamlin also took charge of bills providing for the construction of custom-houses in a host of port cities. Hamlin preferred to be a "working" Senator and not a "talking" Senator.

While in Washington, Hamlin took part in behind-the-scenes activities and supported constituents. Hamlin was even considered as a Republican Presidential candidate, but he declined to run. Although Hamlin did not wish to run for President, he wanted to be available to help the Republican party.

Sam Hersey, a well-known Republican activist, enlisted the aid of other Maine candidates in a campaign to nominate Hamlin for Vice-President instead. Hamlin's nomination was as much a "triumph of availability" as Lincoln's. Hamlin was a friend of William Seward's, a popular Republican candidate who lost to Lincoln. Seward's people held the key to the Vice-Presidential nomination. The Republican party was united. Hamlin, like Lincoln, had a record as a foe of slavery expansion and the desire to unify the states. The Republicans were ready to voice their views through their strong and popular candidates.

One of the most important factors for the Republican party was their platform. The platform was difficult to write because it had to address the varying views on slavery without upsetting any delegates and dividing the party. The platform was to hold the integrity of the Union while denouncing disunion in every form. The platform also dealt with the denouncing of the Buchanan pro-slavery plan and denouncing the reopening of the African slave trade. The delegates were opposed to the Squatter Sovereignty plan and the Democratic policy of non-intervention with slavery in territories. Denying the authority of any administration, Congress or any territorial legislature to establish slavery in any territory, and the opposition to further restrictions on the naturalization of foreign born citizen was also on the platform.

As President and Vice-President, Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin shared many views. Hamlin was most beneficial to Lincoln in the early years because of Hamlin's knowledge and experience in government and the people Lincoln could trust to form his all important Cabinet. Lincoln demonstrated his trust and confidence in Hamlin by allowing Hamlin to influence his choice on almost all the key positions. For instance, Hamlin was able to get Gideon Welles appointed for the position of Secretary of the Navy. Besides introducing Lincoln to powerful Republican members, this was to be Hamlin's greatest accomplishments in office.

Lincoln and Hamlin both believed in keeping the states together, even if going to war was the only way to do it. Hamlin shared Lincoln's views, that any Union victory which did not include the destruction or capture of the enemies's soldiers or army was woefully incomplete. Unlike most of his fellow radicals, Hamlin never doubted Lincoln's basic good sense and good intentions.

Even as Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin were elected, war between the sates was inevitable. Before Hamlin and Lincoln were inaugurated, South Carolina seceded from the Union. Soon after that the Civil War started.

Hamlin's one constitutional responsibility as Vice-president was to preside over the Senate, but he found this unstimulating and unchallenging. Hamlin's only innovation as Vice-President was his abolition of the sale of liquor in the Senate restaurant.

On the day after Bull Run, Hamlin and some other men called on Lincoln at the White House to urge the use of the President's full war powers to free and arm the slaves. Hamlin argued that slavery was the cause of the war and the foundation of the Confederacy. Lincoln read the Emancipation Proclamation to the Cabinet on July 22, 1862, more than a month after Hamlin heard it. Lincoln's own solution to slavery was that the states should have to free all of their chattels. The federal government must share the financial burden with the slave owners and states. The actual freeing of slaves was a slow process: Hamlin wished for Lincoln to push it faster.

There is ample evidence that Hamlin felt neglected during his four year term and that his position of the periphery on power galled and frustrated him. Lincoln seemed to like Hamlin personally, but could not give him an important role to play during the Civil War.

Therefore Hamlin was not an indispensable member of Lincoln's administration. To the end of his term, Hamlin described himself as the "fifth wheel of the coach."

At no other time in American history was it more crucial for a President to be reelected and single out a Vice-President than in 1864. The bitter and long war was drawing to an end, but Lincoln's fulfillment to his cherished goal to preserve the Union and to fulfill the party's ideas and platform depended on his reelection to the Presidency. Lincoln was the Republican candidate for President in 1864. Lincoln also knew that Hamlin strongly favored and expected his renomination. Hamlin came to the conclusion that no politicians or political combinations of any kind could defeat Lincoln because of the support he had from the people.

Lincoln had no prejudice against Hannibal Hamlin to inspire him to compose Hamlin's defeat and he had no special love for Andrew Johnson, a strong Vice-Presidential candidate. About the time President Lincoln planned to visit Fortress Monroe, his thoughts were turning strongly toward a promising Vice-presidential prospect, the aggressive, courteous, military governor of Tennessee.

While Lincoln wished to take no open/formal part in the nomination, he favored Andrew Johnson. Johnson had been praised many times by Lincoln on his "nobility of patriotism" and methods of rehabilitating Tennessee. Lincoln wanted Andrew Johnson on the ticket for very important reasons. Johnson was the most aggressive and outstanding War Democrat in the Union, the one who would risk the most for the cause. The nomination of a Southern Unionist would go a long way in preventing the recognition of the Confederacy by France and England. The selection of a Southern Unionist from a reconstructed Confederacy State would prove that the preservation of the Union was not a lost cause. It was also generally understood that Lincoln's policy for the restoration of the South to its relations with the Union would, in Lincoln's opinion, be greatly promoted by the selection of a southern man who represented the loyalties of the border States.

Nothing was clearer to the Union delegates on June 7, 1864, than the fact that Lincoln would be renominated with almost no contest. Andrew Johnson was nominated as Vice-President. "I have no sore place about me," vowed Hamlin. After the results of the ballot, Hamlin called three cheers for Johnson, who he knew was "every inch a patriot."

After the convention, Hannibal Hamlin went to the White House and said goodbye to President Lincoln. He liked Lincoln though they were never very close, and was sorry their relationship had to end. Shortly after beginning his new term, Lincoln was assassinated and Johnson became President.

It was clear that Andrew Johnson's inability as President was going to seriously hurt the country. Johnson's first fault as Vice-President was that he failed to offer sympathy or a hopeful outlook on the future after Lincoln's assassination. He made no immediate mention of the murdered President and paid no tribute to his memory.

Soon after Lincoln's death, several delegates asked Johnson to pay a tribute to Lincoln's memory. When Johnson finally responded, it was already too late and people were already offended at Johnson for not doing this immediately.

The reconstruction of the South was the main issue during Johnson's administration. Like Lincoln, Johnson wanted to bring the South back to the Union quickly. In May of 1865, Johnson announced a plan that offered pardons to all southerners except the wealthy and main leaders that supported the Confederacy. Before being readmitted to the Union, the defeated states were to form new governments, vow loyalty to the nation and abolish slavery.

Under Johnson's plan, the states would determine the role of blacks. This plan did not go the way Johnson expected at all. The new governments passed black codes, and elected representatives and senators from Southern States who had been Confederate officials.

Radical Republicans decided that Johnson's plan failed and Radicals demanded a new Reconstruction policy. Neither side would compromise with the other and the controversy reached its height during 1868 while Johnson's impeachment trial was going on. The impeachment trials was brought about because Johnson fired Secretary of War Edwin Stanten, which Congress said was a violation of the Tenure of Office Act. Andrew Johnson may have been the best choice for Vice-President; but when he was given the power Lincoln had, he had neither the ability or means to make the reconstruction come about.

Today, political parties try to make their candidates look wonderful. Voters tend to choose the most popular candidate, but politicians tend never to fulfill all their promises. Lincoln and his Vice-presidents were chosen because of the unique strengths each could offer to the leadership of the country at a very critical time in its history. Lincoln did try to fulfill his promise. Abraham Lincoln was a man of the people; Hannibal Hamlin was the kind of man who would put action to his thoughts and Andrew Johnson was an aggressive man who could get what he wanted by working for it. Without these three men, the course of history would have been changed forever. What is now the United States could have been two separate nations or one slave nation. Each Vice-President was elected to help reunite the Union and the Confederacy. Hamlin knew how the Senate and other parts of the government worked, so he was helpful in picking Lincoln's Cabinet. Hamlin also had Democratic friends. Johnson knew how the military worked and was a Southerner from a reunited southern state. Each Vice-President had his own strengths and weaknesses. But neither could ever have surpassed the foresight Lincoln had or his ability to handle and lead the country in a time of disaster.

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LINCOLN AND HIS TWO RIGHT HANDS

By KURT DAVIES

Kurt Davies was a student at J.E. Thompkins Middle School in Evansville, Indiana, when he submitted this winning paper. His teacher was Dennis Kuhlenhoelter.

"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal, hope in the world?" {Cuomo N. pag}. What Abraham Lincoln was trying to state in that quote, which was in his first Inaugural Address, was that this country has the ability to accomplish many things as long as the people have patience and confidence in him and the government. This statement gave the people of the United States an idea as to how our country would be led under the wisdom and strength of Lincoln and the two men that he trusted the most.

These two men were Hannibal Hamlin and Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's Vice Presidents and his two right hands. Lincoln should be able to go to these men for help, advice, and support. He should have been able to tell these men anything, and never worry about it getting to the public. But what were these two men really like? Were they really trustworthy? Could Lincoln always go to them for help, advice, and support? What were the differences between Andrew Johnson and Hannibal Hamlin as Vice Presidents?

Hannibal Hamlin was born in Paris, Maine, August 27, 1809. He was a successful lawyer who was admitted to the bar in 1833. Hamlin became involved in Maine's Democratic Party politics. He held several elected offices as a Democrat. In 1838 he was elected to the first of several terms in Maine's state legislature. In 1842 he was elected to the House of Representatives in the United States Congress. He served in that position until 1848 when he was elected to the United States Senate. However, in 1856 and prior to completing his last term as Senator, Hamlin broke with the Democratic party over the Kansas Nebraska Act.

As a result, he left the Democratic party and joined the Republican part. Hamlin ran and was elected as Maine's governor the following year. {Faust 333-34}.

Hamlin won the Republican Party's nomination as Lincoln's running mate May 18, 1860, at the national convention in Chicago. Hamlin did not want the job as Vice President, but he realized the importance of balancing the ticket. Since Hamlin left the Senate for a traditionally powerless office, he hoped Lincoln would assign him an important role in the war effort. However, he was to be disappointed. Even though he urged the President to issue an emancipation proclamation and to enlist free blacks into the army, he felt he was being ignored and resented being pushed into the background. Out of frustration, he enlisted as a private in the Maine Costal guard. {Faust 333-34}.

On September 22, 1862, the Emancipation Proclamation was signed by President Lincoln. On September 25 Hamlin wrote to President Lincoln to offer his "sincere thanks for your Emancipation Proclamation," including the following:

> It will stand as the great act of the age. It will prove to be wise in statesmanship as it is patriotic. It will be enthusiastically approved and sustained, and future generations will as I do say God bless you for this great noble act. {Cuomo 262}

However, Lincoln lacked the confidence shown in Hamlin's letter. {Cuomo 262} Lincoln's reply stated the following:

> My Dear Sir:
>
> Your kind letter of the 25th is just received. It is known to some that while I hope something from the proclamation, my expectations are not as sanguine as are those of some friends. The time for its effect southward has not come; but northward the effect should be instantaneous.
>
> It is six days old, and while commendation in newspapers and by distinguished individuals is all that a vain man could wish, the stocks have declined, and the troops come forward more slowly than ever. This, looked soberly in the face, is not very satisfactory. We have fewer troops in the field at the end of six days than we had at the beginning - the attrition among the old outnumbering the addition by the new. The North responds to the proclamation sufficiently

in breath; but breath alone kills no rebels. I wish I could write more cheerfully; nor do I thank you less for the kindness of your letter.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln {Cuomo 262}

It seems as though Lincoln was not confident with his proclamation or its content. Hamlin tried to support Lincoln and keep his spirits up. Hamlin's statement and Lincoln's letter show that these two men had a special relationship.

At this point Hamlin was very gloomy. Despite his unhappy position, he preferred another term a Vice-President to leaving political life, and he expected to be renominated. But Lincoln was looking for someone else {Faust 333-34}. Lincoln needed the right man to replace Hamlin. Lincoln felt that Hamlin lacked luster and was inclined to side with radicals on most of the important issues before Congress {Foote 378}.

Then Henry J. Raymond, editor of the New York Times and Chairman of the Platform Committee, presented Andrew Johnson, former Senator and now military governor of Tennessee as a possible running mate for Lincoln. Everyone recognized Johnson as the best possible person to strengthen the ticket. Johnson gave recognition to the claims of loyal men from the South, especially the border states, as well as to anti-war Democrats all across the land. Johnson caused an outburst of enthusiasm so loud that one delegate later testified that he "involuntarily looked up to see it if the roof were lifted." {Foote 625}. Like Lincoln's nomination, Johnson's nomination was unanimous. {Foote 625}.

After Hamlin's Vice-Presidency, he again served in the Senate {1869-81}, and ended his public career by representing the United States as minister to Spain {1881-82}, which was during Chester A. Arthur's administration. After this, Hamlin retired to simple life in Maine.

In later years, Hamlin recalled his wartime eagerness for emancipation. He paid Lincoln this tribute: "I was more radical than Lincoln. I was urging him; he was holding back. . . and he was the wiser."{Faust 394).

In the period of time that Hamlin was Vice-President, he showed great respect toward Lincoln. But he wasn't a good Vice-President. He tried to rush the Emancipation Proclamation, and he sided with the radicals on most of the important issues before Congress. Lincoln and Hamlin did have very similar views on the war and slavery. However, his extremely radical attitude did not compliment Lincoln's more even-handed position. Hamlin did balance the ticket, but he was not the correct choice. I think Lincoln made a good decision and strengthened the Republican ticket when he dropped Hamlin and took Johnson as his running mate.

Andrew Johnson was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, December 29, 1808. He moved with his family to eastern Tennessee in 1826. Like Lincoln, he had no formal schooling. Nevertheless, he opened a successful tailor shop in Greenville. The shop earned Johnson enough money to buy a small estate {Faust 395-96}.

Before Johnson was twenty-one years old, he organized a working man's party that twice elected him an alderman. Then he became the major of Greenville, Tennessee, and, in 1835, he was elected to the Tennessee state legislature. He represented the district that was comprised of Greene and Washington Counties. Johnson was defeated for reelection in 1837, but won again in 1839. In 1841 he was elected as Tennessee's Senator to the United States Senate. He was an active Senator and represented Tennessee in this body from 1843 to 1853. In 1853 Johnson was elected Governor of Tennessee. He served as Tennessee's Governor until he was elected again to national office as a U.S. Senator {Faust 396}.

In 1862 the state of Tennessee split. The central and western parts of Tennessee sided with the Confederates. The eastern section went with the Union. The eastern section tried to secede from the state, but was stopped by the Confederate forces. During this time, Tennessee was a major battleground. In mid-February, Union armies captured Forts Henry and Donelson and within days the Federal forces occupied Nashville {Faust 396}.

Johnson, a firm Unionist, refused to abide by Tennessee's decision to secede and retained his U.S. Senate seat. He supported the Union measure to suppress the rebellion. When Lincoln sought to appoint a military governor of Tennessee, Johnson seemed to be the perfect choice {Faust 396}.

The day after Lincoln and Johnson were nominated for President and Vice President, they were very badly criticized by the New York World {Foote 379} which stated;

> The age of the statesman is gone. The age of rail-splitters and tailors, of buffoons, boors, and fanatics has succeeded... In a crisis of the most appalling magnitude, requiring statesmanship of the highest order, the country is asked to consider the claims of two ignorant, boorish, third-rate backwoods lawyers of the highest situations in the government. Such nominations, in such a conjuncture, are an insult to the common sense of the people. God save the Republic! {Foote 379}

Lincoln hoped God would do just that, but he was modest in his judgement of why he had been chosen to compete again for the task of being President. "I do not allow myself to suppose that (the delegates) have concluded to decide that I am either greatest of best man in America." {Foote 379}. Lincoln further stated;

> But rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it in trying to swap." {Foote 379}

The night before Inauguration Day, Johnson was at a party which lasted till early morning. At this party, liquor was plentiful and the next morning Johnson didn't feel so well. In his own words he "felt much chagrin at this unsteady condition." {Lomask 30}

Retiring Vice President Hannibal Hamlin opened the ceremonies with a farewell speech {Lomask 30}. Hamlin took the chair and made a brief and gracious address. When he was finished, he asked Johnson if he was ready to take the oath. Johnson said he was, but before Hamlin could stop him, Johnson plunged into his speech. Johnson was to speak for seven minutes, but once wound up, he couldn't stop. On and on he went, his voice loud and unclear, his words tumbling over each other and losing themselves in their own echoes.

Lincoln was later quoted as saying "a severe lesson for Andy, but I do not think he will do it again." {Lomask 31}.

Lincoln and Johnson were somewhat alike. They were both self-made men without any formal schooling. They studied law and they were both from the country.

Johnson is probably best remembered for his mean attitude and his stubborn determination. Courage he most certainly had, but he was not a hard man. The powerful stare that peers at us from the old pictures of him was not the reflection of an inner toughness, but the shield of an inner tenderness. In this he was not the same as Lincoln, who, as Lomask states it, has a core of toughness. Without this, Lincoln may never have survived the stresses of the Civil War {Lomask 13}.

Johnson was not so lucky. He was a hard-word, soft-deed man. The hard-word habit was one that he developed during difficult campaigns for office in the mountain country of Tennessee {Lomask 13}.

During the forty-one days of life remaining to Lincoln after his Second Inauguration, Andrew Johnson took no important part in the affairs of the nation. Johnson left the Capitol for several days to relax in Silver Springs {Lomask 13}. Upon his return to Washington, he began making preparations for a visit to Tennessee that would never happen, because of the assassination of Lincoln. {Kunhardt 3}.

Exactly how much Lincoln and Johnson saw of each other during the weeks before Lincoln's death is not known. There is evidence that on occasion Lincoln avoided interviews sought by Johnson, but there is no evidence of any strain between them. The New York Evening Post quoted Lincoln as speaking "warmly" of his Vice President to a White House Caller, saying of Johnson's misstep on Inauguration Day, "He is too much of a man for the American people to cast him off for a single error." {Lomask 33}.

Lincoln chose both of this Vice Presidents mostly for election purposes. He picked

Hamlin to balance the ticket and get more votes from New England. He picked Johnson to balance the ticket again and to draw some anti-war democratic votes. Both Vice Presidents played a major role in getting Lincoln elected as President.

I feel that Hamlin was only an average Vice President. He really didn't do anything, except push Lincoln into the Emancipation Proclamation. He did, however, keep Lincoln's spirits up during the war and when Lincoln had doubts about the Proclamation.

If Johnson would have served a whole term, I think he would have proven to be the better Vice President because he was more politically experienced and was respected by his political peers. Johnson did have a bad start because of the scene he made on Inauguration Day, but Lincoln seemed to forgive him.

Hamlin and Johnson were average Vice Presidents, but no man can be perfect at what he does. Lincoln once shared his thoughts on perfection in a speech that he gave in Chicago.

> My friend has said to me that I am a poor hand to quote scripture. I will try it again however. It is said in one of the admonitions of the Lord "As your Father in Heaven is perfect be ye also perfect."
> The Savior, I suppose, did not expect that any human creature could be perfect as the Father in Heaven, but he said "As your Father in Heaven is perfect be ye also perfect." He set that up as a standard, and he who did most toward reaching that standard, attained the highest degree of moral perfection. {Cuomo 14}

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HIS VICE PRESIDENTS

By CASEY MICHAEL GRAY

Casey Michael Gray was a student at J. E. Thompkins Middle School in Evansville, Indiana, when he submitted this winning paper. His teacher was Dennis Kuhlenhoelter.

In the election year of 1860 the country was divided on the issue of slavery. The Democrat Party itself had split over the issue of slavery. The Southern Democrats were pro-slavery. (The Civil War, An Illustrated History, p. 25;) The newly formed Republican Party, the forerunner of the modern Republican party, was anti-slavery. (The Civil War, A Narrative, p. 28) From humble beginnings in a log cabin in Kentucky arose one of this country's greatest leaders, Abraham Lincoln, to lead the Republican Party to victory in the Presidential campaign that year. His running mate was Hannibal Hamlin, a United States Senator and former Governor of the state of Maine. These two men shared many of the same views, especially that slavery was wrong and should ultimately be abolished.(The Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. X, pgs. 196-97)

The two men were chosen to lead their party at the Republican convention held in the Wigwam in Chicago, Illinois, that year.(The Civil War, A Narrative, p. 33) Lincoln was chosen because of his strong opposition to slavery and Hamlin was chosen as his running mate for the same reason. They were not formally introduced until after the election when Lincoln asked Hamlin to meet him in Chicago to discuss who should serve in the Cabinet. They met in the Tremont House in that city. That meeting began with the following words as Lincoln greeted Hamlin at the door to his room (according to one noted historian).

> "Have we ever been introduced to each other, Mr. Hamlin?" "No Sir, I think not."
> "That is also my impression, but I remember distinctly while I was in Congress to have heard you make a speech in the senate. I was very much struck with that speech, Senator, particularly struck with it, and for the reason that it was filled chock up with the very best kind of anti-slavery doctrine."

> "Well, now," laughed Hamlin, "that is very singular; for my own first recollection of yourself is of having heard you make a speech in the House, a speech so full of good humor and sharp points that I, together with other of your auditors was convulsed with laughter."
> (Abraham Lincoln, The War Years, Vol. I, pgs. 153-54)

Their first meeting broke up soon thereafter and had to be continued the next day. At their next meeting, Lincoln made it clear to Hamlin that he would always be willing to listen to and respect his advice. This was unusual, for up until then relations between Presidents and Vice-Presidents had not, as a rule, been friendly. Hamlin pledged his friendship to the new President and to do his best to give sound advice. Through the years, the two men developed a mutual respect and friendship for each other.

The two men began to work together immediately to chose a new Cabinet. Both men had insights into those men that should be selected. Both kept in mind the need for the Cabinet to serve as a unifying force.(Abraham Lincoln, The War Years, Vol. X, pgs. 153-56)

Both men freely expressed their views on slavery and other sensitive issues. Both men were considered radicals. They were opposed in the election of 1860 by three other sets of candidates. Together those candidates received over a million more votes than Lincoln and Hamlin together, but their opponents' votes were divided between three sets of candidates.(A History of Presidential Elections, p. 180) During that election, a rumor was spread that Hamlin had African blood due, in part, to his swarthy complexion. (The Dictionary of American Biography, p. 197) Given the times, that may have had an adverse affect on Hamlin's candidacy.

That Hamlin respected and admired Lincoln is clear by the reference he made in New Haven on his way to the inauguration ceremonies to "that great and good man whom the people have elected to the highest office within the gift of any nation on the face of the earth --Abraham Lincoln of Illinois." (Abraham Lincoln, The War Years, Vol. I, p. 155) Few people were so lavish in their praise of Lincoln at that time. Hamlin studiously avoided conflicts with

Lincoln, even though he was more radical in his beliefs. As a result, Lincoln had great confidence in Hamlin's ability to fill his shoes should he be assassinated. Many other people, however, were not so sure. This was clear from an editorial from a newspaper of the day while Abraham Lincoln was sick.(The War Years, p. 155)

> Until the Presidential election is held we wish to see Mr. Lincoln conduct the government rather then Mr. Hannibal Hamlin, the present Vice-President. Better a plague, better the death of all our Generals, better the loss of the Mississippi and a foreign war combined, than that the furious anti-slavery fanaticism which Mr. Hamlin represents should get complete control of the machinery of the government."
> "Mr. Lincoln has oftentimes acted wrongly, unwisely, arbitrarily; but still he hesitates before he takes an extreme position, and is willing to obey, although not always quick to perceive, the drift of public opinion. Without elevation of character, he has a self-poise, reticence, and disposition to commit himself, which in many a trying crisis has saved him from being the utter tool of the mad men whose folly brought on the war and who never knew, and can never learn, how to carry it on. But Mr. Hamlin is a very different person. Were he president, people of the stamp of Garrison and Greeley would be called to the cabinet. Fremont and Butler would be put at the head of our armies, and the whole machinery of government would be put into play to put down free speech and free press. (Abraham Lincoln, The War Years, Vol. II,p. 493)

In order to prepare this paper, I reviewed many books and articles on the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln during the war years. Hannibal Hamlin was rarely mentioned. I assume from this that he did not play all that significant a role in the decisions made by President Lincoln regarding the issues and policies during those years. He apparently served as one advisor among many to his President. He did, however, continue to preside over the Senate with dignity and ability. He had been serving in that body when he was elected Vice President and must have known how it operated very well. (The Dictionary of American Biography, p. 197) In this capacity, he may have influenced policy and aided Lincoln in the debates with those seeking peace at any price.

Hamlin may have played yet a more significant role than anyone ever imagined. That role was to save his President's life by making his enemies afraid to harm him for fear that Hannibal Hamlin would replace him and force his passionately anti-slavery views upon the issues at hand. Hamlin's avowed radicalism may thus have saved Lincoln from the assassin's bullet while he made those crucial decisions that ultimately saved the Union and freed the slaves.

Hannibal Hamlin served only one term as Vice President. When Lincoln ran for re-election in 1864, his running mate was Andrew Johnson, a "War Democrat" and military governor of Tennessee. (The Civil War, An Illustrated History, p. 320) Johnson was nominated to run as the new Vice-President with President Lincoln at the convention of the new National Union Party held in Baltimore, Maryland, on June 7, 1864. The National Union Party was a coalition party of Republicans and "War Democrats" that was begun in 1861 to support the effort to preserve the Union. The majority of its members were Republicans, but a number of former Democrats were also members. Philosophical differences between the two parties were to be dropped in favor of a simple platform of supporting the Northern war effort. Not even slavery itself was to be an issue.(History of Presidential Elections,p. 188).

Authorities seem to differ as to whether Lincoln was in any way responsible for Johnson's nomination as his Vice Presidential candidate. One book on presidential politics during the period indicates Lincoln made contacts with two competing factions from Pennsylvania to arrange their support for Johnson's nomination (and never let the other one know). They were later both surprised when they wound up supporting the same man.(History of Presidential Elections, p. 197) Another book indicates that Lincoln would have liked to see Hamlin renominated, despite the fact he personally liked Johnson, but that he did not get involved on either side.(The War for the Union, Vol. IV, p. 76) Although the vote was initially pretty close between Hamlin and Johnson on the first ballot, Pennsylvania shifted to Johnson before the next ballot. All of the remaining states soon did likewise and Johnson was nominated without the necessity of a second ballot.(History of Presidential Elections, p. 197). Hamlin took the result in good humor and agreed to work hard for both Lincoln and Johnson's election.(The War for Union, Vol. IV, p. 78)

By nominating a "War Democrat" and a Southerner to boot, the new party hoped to make itself seem less regional in character and to broaden its appeal, especially in the South.(The War for the Union, Vol. IV, p. 76) Apparently, not everyone at the convention was pleased with Johnson's nomination. Thaddeus Stevens reportedly said, "Can't you get a candidate for Vice President without going down into a damned rebel province for one?"(History of Presidential Elections, P. 197).

Lincoln and Johnson won the election by 212 votes to 21 for McClellan. They were sworn into office shortly thereafter. Johnson went first. He had been severely ill just before the ceremony and had apparently taken "restoratives" to help him fight off its effects. Whether due to the restoratives or his weakened condition, Johnson regaled the audience in the Senate Chamber with a rambling, nearly incoherent speech full of totally inappropriate comments. Some believe he was simply drunk.(The Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. X, p. 84) Lincoln was apparently not one of them. He sat waiting patiently for his new Vice-President to finish throughout his speech.(The War for the Union, Vol. IV, p. 216)

Whether because of this incident or for some other reason, Johnson and Lincoln did not appear to have talked much during that short period of time between their inauguration on March 4, 1865, and Lincoln's assassination on April 14, 1865. They had their only recorded conversation during this entire period on April 14, 1865, the day Lincoln was shot.(The War for the Union, Vol. IV, p. 323)

Vice President Johnson was also supposed to be assassinated that same day by one of John Wilkes Booth's men, George Atzerodt, but the assassin did not have the courage to carry out his assignment.(Mr. Lincoln's Washington, p. 194; The Civil War, An Illustrated History, 386). Lincoln died the day after he was shot (at 7:22 a.m. on April 15, 1865). Johnson was sworn in as our seventeenth President at around noon that same day.(Mr.

Lincoln's Washington, p. 196) This time there was only a very small ceremony and Johnson was stone cold sober.(Mr. Lincoln's Washington, p. 196)

At least at the beginning of his administration, Johnson continued most of Lincoln's policies, as he had announced he intended to do. He even retained Lincoln's Cabinet intact, despite suggestions he reorganize it.(Lincoln and Greeley, p. 395; The Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. X, p. 84) A newspaper of the day had this to say about the new President:

> "Johnson is emphatically a self-made man, with the energy, self-reliance and courage befitting that character. He believes in the Republic, venerates the Union, and has learned to hate Slavery and the Rebellion with his whole soul . . . . He has decided ability, earnest patriotism, and undoubting faith in our national destiny. If any Rebel ever thought it would be well for the clan to have Andrew Johnson in the White House rather than Abraham Lincoln he is bitterly mistaken."

(Lincoln and Greeley, p. 394, quoting The Tribune, April 17, 1865)

In the process of reconstructing the Union, however, he had a run-in with a number of prominent radical Republicans in Congress and was eventually impeached, but I guess that is another story. Johnson died in 1875. He served only one term as President.(The Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. X, pgs. 88-9)

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THE ELECTION OF 1864: LINCOLN CHOSE A DIFFERENT RUNNING MATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT. WHY?

By JASON MILLER

Jason Miller was a student at Westlane Middle School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when he submitted this winning paper. His teacher was Gary Keel.

Abraham Lincoln in 1864 was forced to fight his last and greatest battle to prevent the division of his own party and assure the future unification of his country. During the Civil War, many months of increasing taxes, arguments over war aims and drafts had shaken up the Republican party so much that the party was in the process of falling apart. Three years after the first shots at Fort Sumter, a succession of military leaders had carried the banner of the Northern forces without a lot of success. But by 1864 important events were taking place. Lincoln was preparing tactics that could win the war against the South and he was looking for a general who could carry them out.

Lincoln was in the position of having to fight, almost single-handedly, a dual battle for unity. First and foremost, he had to push through his plans to secure the reunification of the United States, and, at the same time, he was in a struggle to assure the continued unity of his party. All that Lincoln stood for rested upon his program in 1864. He had to win back the loyalty of those who had turned to the Democrats. If the military campaigns did not work, the blow would be bad but not a disaster, while political defeat would almost certainly be a catastrophe for both Lincoln and the United States.

If Lincoln could not hold his party together, his whole program would be lost because the man chosen to replace him would probably represent the other side of the political fence. Such a result would be a defeat for Lincoln; and if the party divided completely, disaster would be the result for the nation. With the Republican party falling apart, the country could fall into the hands of men who wanted separation and peace at any price. One of the ways

Lincoln reassured himself that he would win first re-nomination, then re-election, was to switch Vice-Presidents.

By early 1864 it seemed that the North was sure to win the Civil War. It seemed that the North had unlimited resources while those in the South were giving out. The Southern armies were cut in size because of battle losses, war weariness, and Northern occupation of many large areas of the Confederacy. Southern railroads had almost stopped running and supplies were desperately short.

Slavery was still an issue in the 1864 election because there were many people who thought that freeing the slaves was a mistake and that was the main reason for the war not being over. People who thought that freeing the slaves was the right thing to do were worried about what to do with all of the free slaves once the war was over.

Another major concern was what should be done with the Confederates after the war ended. There was a lot of disagreement over whether they should be welcomed back into the Union or if they were to be dealt with harshly until they could be rehabilitated through Reconstruction.

Lincoln was thinking about the answers to these problems, as well as many others, especially how to bring an end to the war. However, it wasn't until November of 1863 that he decided that he wanted to be re-elected. He felt that he had to present himself to the people as a candidate so that his policies could be accepted, and that the greatest blow to the Confederacy would be for him and his party to be re-elected, showing the South the strength of the party and the unity of the North.

Not all of the Republican party agreed that Lincoln should be re-nominated. There were many groups who believed that their policies were correct and challenged his re-nomination with their own candidates. The Jacobins and the Unconditionals strongly sought to replace Lincoln.

Lack of unity in Lincoln's own party was seized by the Democrats. Lincoln was called a "dictator" and his administration was accused of dishonesty. They feared that if Lincoln continued on his course to become a dictator, American liberties would perish along with slavery and the Confederacy. The majority of Democrats stood for peace as soon as practicable, a return to the full respect for civil liberties, and a constitutional recognition of slavery, if it were necessary, as a means for ending the war.

By the time of the Baltimore Republican Party convention on June 7, 1864, Lincoln had withstood the attacks from the radical elements in the party and his opponents had withdrawn their names from consideration. Lincoln won the nomination easily, with only Missouri voting for General Grant. Missouri quickly changed its vote, making Lincoln's nomination for President unanimous.

Lincoln had succeeded in the first part of his plan, but for him to assure victory in November's Presidential election as well as maintain party unity, it was necessary to select his running mate for Vice-President very carefully.

Lincoln's Vice-Presidential running mate in the election of 1860 had been Hannibal Hamlin. Hamlin served as Governor of Maine in 1857 and also served in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. Hamlin strongly opposed slavery, left the Democratic party in 1856 and helped to organize the Republican party as an anti-slavery group. Since the Republican party's platform opposed the extension of slavery, Hamlin's anti-slavery record made him a good candidate for Vice-President.

When the Democratic party held its convention in the spring of 1860, it was unable to agree upon a Presidential candidate and a platform that would be acceptable to all factions in the party. It split into two groups, the Northern delegates choosing Stephan A. Douglas of Illinois as their candidate, and the Southern delegates selected John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky.

Aided by the split in the Democratic party and the appeal of the Republican platform to both Northern and Western voters, Lincoln and Hamlin won the election. Lincoln did not want such a split to destroy his own chances in 1864.

Hamlin wanted to run for Vice-President again in 1864, but the selection of the Vice-Presidential candidate was much more complicated in 1864 than it was in 1860.

Since the Union party's platform called for a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery, it seemed that Hamlin's strong anti-slavery record was a good enough reason for keeping him on as Vice-President. Lincoln, however, was convinced that the most important thing was for the Union party, made up of Republicans and War Democrats, to live up to its name and show true unity. Having a War Democrat as Vice President, preferably one from the South, would achieve that goal. Hamlin, from Maine, had been a Democrat but had switched parties before the war, so he really didn't meet Lincoln's needs for a running mate.

There were many candidates for Vice-President including Hamlin, Andrew Johnson, Daniel S. Dickinson, Joseph Holt, B.F. Butler, Schuyler Colfax, Simon Cameron, and Horatio Seymour. Radicals within the party, having failed to prevent Lincoln's nomination, wanted to control the choice of Vice-President, but Lincoln had decided earlier that the party had good reasons to choose Andrew Johnson. As a War Democrat, Johnson symbolized party unity. As a patriot from a seceded Southern state where he was the Union Military Governor, Johnson symbolized the type of Southern whites Lincoln was trying to appeal to. Both Lincoln and Johnson were from the country's central heartland which offered the kind of virtues that would have a broad appeal to the voters.

Although it later became known that Lincoln himself had chosen Johnson, Lincoln and his staff claimed to be neutral at the convention, not preferring any candidate. Behind the scenes, Lincoln and his men were manipulating the delegates to vote in ways that would not offend Hamlin and Hamlin's supporters and make it seem like Lincoln didn't want him.

Before the convention Hamlin's manager felt that Hamlin had enough support to win and, on the day before the actual vote, he seemed to be definitely ahead. On the first roll call on June 8, 1864, Hamlin got 150 votes, Dickinson got 108, and Johnson got 200. When the trend towards Johnson became obvious, many delegates changed their votes. When the first and only ballot was recorded, Johnson had 494 votes, Dickinson had 17, and Hamlin received only 9. Because of Lincoln's political skills, he was able to assure the nomination of his choice for Vice-President,

Democratic newspapers called the Union candidates, Lincoln and Johnson, "a rail splitting buffoon and a boorish tailor, both from the backwoods, both growing up in uncouth ignorance." But just as Lincoln had planned, the Union candidates appealed powerfully to the common man.

Lincoln and Johnson easily won the election with 2,218,388 votes for Lincoln to 1,812,807 votes for McClellan. The electoral vote was 212 for Lincoln to only 21 for McClellan.

On April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant and the Civil War was over. It appeared that Lincoln's goal of saving his party, being nominated, switching Vice-Presidents, ending the war and preserving the Union had been achieved. His changing Vice-Presidents may or may not have affected his chances of re-election, but Lincoln felt that he had made the right choice. What he didn't know was that on April 15th he would be dead and that the country would have a new President to guide it through the difficult time of Reconstruction. We will never know what kind of President Hannibal Hamlin would have been because it was Andrew Johnson who was sworn in to be President only six weeks after having been inaugurated as Vice-President.

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A RUNNING MATE FOR THE SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT

By JENI REININGA

Jeni Reininga was a student at J.E. Thompkins Middle School in Evansville, Indiana, when she submitted this winning papper. Her teachers were Debra Forrest and Dennis Kuhlenhoelter.

Hannibal Hamlin and Andrew Johnson stood side by side at the funeral of Abraham Lincoln. Both men had served as Vice President under this great man -- Hamlin for four years and Johnson for nearly six weeks. They had each experienced the nomination at the convention. Both men had suffered the mudslinging of public opinion and they had both tried to serve the Union and the man who lay dead before them to their fullest ability. No one knew for sure what the two men were thinking. Perhaps they were looking back on the years they had spent with the former President and the events that would link them together throughout history (Weisenberg 34).

It's not hard to imagine what Hannibal Hamlin could have been thinking. Maybe his thoughts drifted back to when he was first told about being chosen as Lincoln's running mate. Knowing what becoming Vice President really meant, Hamlin was not happy with this decision. Hamlin had been a Senator from Maine. He did not want to leave this "post of power for one of inconsequence" (Weisenberg 37). As a Senator, Hamlin would have been able to take part in Senate decisions and discussions. As Vice President, he couldn't voice his opinion on any Senate issues. All he would do is lead the order of operations. Once, when he had talked about becoming Vice President, he had said, "I neither expected nor desired it. But it has been made and as a faithful man to the cause, it leaves me no alternative but to accept it" (Weisenberg 37).

The Republican convention, however, had chosen Hannibal Hamlin, a former Democrat, as Lincoln's Vice-Presidential candidate. In order to balance the Republican ticket, Westerner Abraham Lincoln needed an Easterner to run with him. Hamlin, being from Maine, was an excellent choice. Lincoln was also aware of Hamlin's past ties with the Democrats. Many Democratic votes might be gained with Hannibal Hamlin on the ticket. Hamlin also might bring in the votes of moderate people who might not agree with the more radical Republicans. Hamlin was "an announced foe to slavery yet not a radical abolitionist" (Weisenberg 37). An observer commented that Hamlin was "the exact compliment of the ticket headed by Mr. Lincoln, in respect to locality, political antecedents, and manifest fitness for office" (Barzman 104).

Looking again at Lincoln's coffin, Hamlin could have remembered how he felt about slavery when he was Vice President. It was his stand against the extension of slavery that made him resign from the Senate and leave the Democratic Party (Weisenberg 36). Hamlin told a crowd in Boston,

> "There is in this struggle but a single issue -- liberty against slavery . . . . It is no longer of abolition in the South, but it is whether slavery shall not be extended over the whole North . . . !" (Weisenberg 36).
> Hamlin felt his position on slavery was important. "'I was urging him, Hamlin recalled, 'he was holding back . . . . I desired to arm the blacks and to issue the [emancipation] proclamation! But Lincoln refused to budge" (Weisenberg 41).

Hamlin would have also remembered the cruel mudslinging during the campaign. Southerners called him a mulatto (Barker 96). An editor from South Carolina accused Hannibal Hamlin publicly of being a man with "colored blood" (Barzman 105). It was true that Hamlin had a dark complexion, but he was not black.

It was said that the reason no one killed President Lincoln was because they were afraid of Hamlin becoming President (Barzman 104). However, others felt that Hamlin was better fit to be President than Lincoln (Barzman 104)!

Lincoln didn't give Hamlin very much responsibility. Hamlin had no power and the President never asked him for advice (Brauer 177). Even when the Civil War was raging, Lincoln gave Hamlin nothing to do. Lincoln should have been glad to have any help at all (Barzman 106).

Hamlin did, however, manage to make a few contributions. One of them was the banning of liquor sale in the Senate chambers (Barzman 105-6).

As Hamlin stood before the coffin of the 16th President, he could have remembered two special times he had shared with Abraham Lincoln. Hannibal Hamlin had been talking with the President on June 18, 1862, when Lincoln suddenly asked Hamlin when he was going back to Maine. Hamlin told Lincoln he was leaving that very day. Lincoln shook his head. Hamlin said he would stay if Mr. Lincoln had any command for him. Lincoln asked Hamlin to meet him at the Soldiers Home that night. Little did Hamlin know that he was up for a great surprise. When Hannibal Hamlin arrived that night Lincoln took him aside in the library.

> "'Hamlin,' he said, 'you have often urged me to issue a proclamation of emancipation. I am about to do it'" I have it here and you will be the first person to see it'" (Weisenberg 41).

Later on the Vice President sent Lincoln his

> "sincere thanks for your Emancipation Proclamation. It will stand as a great act of the age . . . and future generations will, as I do, say God bless you for this great and noble act" (Weisenberg 41).

Finally Hannibal Hamlin had done something important. He had stood for something he believed in and pushed until it was done. Thanks to Hamlin, this proclamation of emancipation was not just a dream; it was a reality.

But Hamlin wasn't through with all his contributions. Hamlin "had always believed . . . that negro freedom should be mustered into service" (Weisenberg 41). Hamlin's youngest son, Cyrus Hamlin, and nine other Union officers came to the Vice President and volunteered to command black troops. Hamlin understood their cause, but told them that the President would have to clear the idea. Because the men were so persistent, Hamlin decided to take them to see the President. The young men explained the situation to Abraham Lincoln as he listened intently. He asked a few questions and then wrote out an order authorizing the black brigade (Weisenberg 41-2). Again Lincoln had taken Hamlin's advice to make a very important event in history.

Little did Hamlin know that the next term of Vice President would be filled by someone other than himself. When Hamlin attended the 1864 Republican convention, he was surprised to find that Andrew Johnson would be Lincoln's new Vice Presidential candidate. The Lincoln-Johnson combination won the election with "a thumping 90.00 percent of the electoral vote" (Barzman 110).

As Johnson stood next to Hamlin, he too might have been remembering both the events leading up to and the time during his Vice Presidency.

Lincoln thought that the only way he could win the 1864 election was by placing a loyal Union Democrat on the ticket (Weisenberg 42). Andrew Johnson seemed to be the best choice.

Johnson was a "War Democrat" from Tennessee (Williams 373). The party leaders hoped that this Southerner would help erase sectional lines (Bassett 88). Although Tennessee joined the Confederacy, Johnson firmly believed in preserving the Union. Lincoln was truly impressed with Johnson's "nobility of patriotism, and his methods of rehabilitating Tennessee" (Weisenberg 42).

Johnson had a completely different view on slavery than Lincoln. Andrew Johnson was not against slavery. Lincoln himself once said that "the nation needed nothing so much as to have a man like Johnson - 'an eminent citizen of a slave-state, and himself a slave-holder'" (Catton 119). Once Andrew Johnson said, "Damn the negroes, . . . I am fighting these traitorous aristocrats, their masters!" (Barzman 111). Johnson's words reflect his dislike for the rich. He always boasted about being a plebeian and enjoyed bragging about his humble origin (Stern 13).

The Republican convention surprised the country in 1864. They chose Andrew Johnson over Vice President Hamlin as Lincoln's new running mate. This combination won the election with "a thumping 90.99 percent of the electoral vote" (Barzman 110).

Perhaps Johnson looked again at the President who lay before him and remembered the hard times they had been through together. The New York World called Lincoln and Johnson, "a rail-splitting buffoon and a boorish tailor . . . men of mediocre talents, narrow views, deficient education, and coarse, vulgar manners . . ." (Barzman 110).

Johnson really got the mud-slinging started at his inauguration. He had been very sick with typhoid but came to the inauguration despite it because the President urged him to. Andrew Johnson made the mistake of having two drinks of brandy before entering the Senate chambers. His acceptance speech was a total disaster (Stern 13-5). The New York World believed that Johnson had disgraced himself. "To think that one frail life stands between this insolent, clownish creature and the presidency! May God bless and spare Abraham Lincoln" (Barzman 112). No one seemed to have anything good to say about their new Vice President. But Abraham Lincoln believed in Johnson. During Andrew Johnson's inauguration, Lincoln said, "A bad slip, but Andy ain't a drunkard!" (Bassett 88). Johnson spent the rest of his Vice Presidency living down the unfortunate incident.

Andrew Johnson, the seventeenth President of the United States, stood before Lincoln's coffin with Hannibal Hamlin at this side. It was true -- Lincoln was dead. But the memory of the times these men had spent with him should live on forever.

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LINCOLN, HAMLIN, AND JOHNSON

By SARA SILVER

Sara Silver was a student at Westlane Middle School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Roy Crumly.

Some say that Vice-Presidents are unimportant and of little or no value. However, the Vice-President is critical to the country, especially when he/she must take over the country in such cases as the President's death or impeachment. Lincoln's Vice-Presidents helped him in both cases to win his elections. Lincoln's Vice-Presidential selection of Andrew Johnson proved important to history since Johnson ended up becoming President just after a major war and was the only President ever to be impeached.

Hannibal Hamlin, a former Governor and Senator of Maine, was chosen to run with Lincoln as Vice-President in 1860. In June of 1856 Hamlin became a Republican. He felt his party, the Democrats, had left him. Hamlin opposed his party on slavery in the territories, as well as the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which the Democrats supported. The Kansas-Nebraska Act was the law that allowed the question of slavery in the Nebraska Territory to be decided by popular sovereignty and which created the Kansas and Nebraska territories. Hamlin had to weigh his party loyalty against his strong belief in the anti-slavery cause.

Hannibal Hamlin was placed on the ticket as Vice-President with Lincoln, basically to balance the ticket and to receive the majority of votes. Lincoln was a Northwestern ex-Whig, and Hamlin was from New England and was an ex-Democrat. He was what most Democrats and Republicans alike considered "the exact complement of the ticket."

Hamlin found life as Vice-President very time consuming and stressful. He wanted more than anything to become a U.S. Senator again. If he could have been certain that the Maine legislature would elect him as Senator in January of 1865, he would have refused in a second to be a candidate for renomination. However, he knew a wise phrase, "You can never be certain about politics."

Hamlin made no effort to try to secure his renomination but did not remove his name from the contest. Most people were confident of his renomination. In the end, Andrew Johnson won the nomination 494 to 9. Lincoln specified that the Indiana-nominated Johnson was not his "personal" preference over Hamlin; it was strictly his "political" preference.

The election of 1864 was basically a confession of weakness. In this election, politicians followed instead of leading the people. Lincoln's renomination was the work of his party. For many reasons Lincoln had a powerful hold on the population's heart. The people truly believed in his integrity, patriotism, and his attempts to restore the Union. Lincoln wanted to have his Vice-President-elect to be Andrew Johnson of Tennessee although the final decision was made by the convention. Lincoln knew he could win if the Republican Party did not split its vote between two candidates like the Democrats would. Johnson at first thought he would only hurt the ticket, rather than help it, and feared that the President could not be re-elected running with a Democrat, although, in the end, he said, "I will do it for you, Mr. President."

President Lincoln refused to postpone the election claiming, "We cannot have free government without elections." The positive effects were uniting different protesting groups, hearing the common people's views, and clarifying the debate issues. The negative effects of holding the election would be diverting attention from the war and causing the spirit of the troops to possibly weaken.

The results of the election would be the turning point of the war. It would greatly influence the outcome of the war. The election would decide if the war would cease or continue. If Lincoln lost the election, the North would quit the war because Lincoln's opponent would have to run - probably - on an anti-war/peace campaign. As a result, the

South would gain its independence and thus the Union would not be able to stay together.

The South was happy prior to the election for two main reasons. First of all, the Confederacy was winning most of the major battles and thus making Lincoln look bad. The people blamed Lincoln for these losses. The South was also pleased that the peace movement was greatly affecting Lincoln's campaign. The turn around in the election came as a result of the Union's military victories.

Johnson was chosen to run with Lincoln to give a real flavor of union to the parties and nation. Since he was a war Democrat and Lincoln was a war Republican, they would together draw the votes of loyal Democrats and Republicans, and possibly some Copperheads because the Lincoln/Johnson ticket would assure a fair peace for the South. He would also strengthen the ticket by emphasizing that Lincoln was truly a Union party candidate, not merely a Republican one. The choice of Johnson also would show Europe that not all Southerners were rebels and to prevent them from recognizing the Confederacy.

The only thing that saved the Lincoln renomination ticket was all of the last minute Union victories right around the time of the election. Until then, people did not know if fighting the war was worth it and who was winning.

Andrew Johnson was described as "a man of few ideas but they are right and true, and he would suffer death sooner than yield or violate one of them." The outstanding, aggressive lifelong war Democrat was the only U.S. Senator from a seceded state who refused to join the Confederacy and stayed loyal to the Union, although he stereotyped blacks as "niggers" and fought only against their masters, not for them. Lincoln chose Johnson in an attempt to project a union party image. Johnson received the nomination on the first ballot. His nomination had a mixed impact on Radicals and caused moderate tension on the party because he dealt severely with rebels.

Johnson hated to disappoint Lincoln and agreed with Lincoln's executive approach to reconstruction. The problems of Lincoln vs. Congress was how to treat the South. Either people strongly supported or strongly disagreed with him. One of Johnson's weaknesses was getting people to work together. He was brave, honest, and had great faith in the Constitution and therefore was considered a political role model. He was also good at making spur of the moment speeches. He was respected by Radicals as well as Lincoln's group, even though he had previously owned slaves.

Johnson became Vice-President on March 4, 1865, and he made one of the worst mistakes of his political career which would not be forgotten. On Inauguration Day, Johnson showed up drunk. Lincoln "wore an expression of deep sorrow;" and Radicals, people that believed in taking strong action immediately against the south, never forgot this. Johnson became President just over a month later on April 15, 1865.

On April 15, 1865, President Lincoln died after being shot by John Booth. It was planned that Johnson and Secretary of State Seward also be killed. However, the man assigned to kill Johnson lost his nerve. Seward suffered stab wounds but survived. Eight conspirators were caught. Lincoln once said to Johnson he hoped he would live to see Reconstruction completed and every southern state represented at the Capitol and the wounds of the war healed but he doubted he would. The President and Mrs. Lincoln had dreams for months of him being shot. Once Lincoln died, the Radicals warmly welcomed Johnson because they knew of his strong Union speeches and knew him in the Senate. They also knew he fought secession.

Before Lincoln's tragic death, he and Johnson had many discussions about Reconstruction. They agreed on most of the ideas that they had, although some of their feelings on certain topics slightly differed.

Lincoln sent his annual message to Congress of suggested plans for Reconstruction in December of 1863. All of Lincoln's plans were very generous and free from cruelty. Reconstruction was based on the idea that a part of the population was loyal to the Union or would break free from the Confederacy. No revenge was to be taken on the South. His idea was to persuade Southerners to go back, on their own, to the Union. Lincoln called this "restoration" rather than "reconstruction." His ideas were as follows: Armies were to be sent into seceded states and troops were to set up civil state governments in the Confederate states that were recovered by Federals. He wanted to grant pardons to most Southerners, except high ranking Confederate officials. Congress should recognize the Lincoln-nurtured governments. A set of standards which a state must meet before sending a representative to Congress were: slavery must be banned, a new state constitution must be written that is in agreement with the federal Constitution, federal government had no responsibility for Confederate debts, and a state pledge of allegiance to the federal Constitution must renounce the Confederate States of America.

Andrew Johnson's plan for Reconstruction were very similar to Lincoln's. He also preferred to call it "restoration," Reconstruction is simply re-establishing civil governments in the rebellious states and preparing those states to resume their normal functions in the Union. Johnson decided to handle this not by calling a special session of Congress but by continuing to exercise his executive powers.

Johnson spoke harshly about traitors but also felt that common people of the South had been led into rebellion by the rich and powerful. At first he agreed with Radicals to punish rebels but overall be favored generous treatment to all former rebels except high ranking army officers, resigned Congressmen, judges, or military leaders that quit to join the Confederacy, those who mistreated POWs or were under arrest for other military crimes, or all people who owned taxable property worth more than $20,000. He also offered individual pardons for those in the above excluded categories.

Johnson believed in "Herrenvolk" democracy. This is the belief in the superiority of all who belong to the master race of a place over all who do not. Therefore, he believed in white supremacy.

Tennessee was the first seceded state to return to the Union. Johnson reorganized his home state politically. He developed there local governments. He faced hard, bitter violence, and the hatred of emotionally charged war times.

Johnson did not offer civil rights for ex-slaves. He believed that each state would determine for itself its voting qualifications. Only six Northern states allowed Negroes the vote and only under very strict qualifications while all others did not have to meet these qualifications.

Johnson issued two very important proclamations. The first concerned the state of North Carolina. He appointed a governor and told him to call an election and supervise the choice of delegates who would make arrangements for the election of permanent office holders. Only white men that took an oath of allegiance could take part in this process. The new legislature must accept the 13th Amendment ending slavery, repay all Confederate debts, and declare secession from the Union illegal. For this, the federal government would withdraw all of its troops from the state. Several states also did this later. The second proclamation gave pardons to hundreds of thousands of men who had participated in rebellion with the exception of a few people stated earlier.

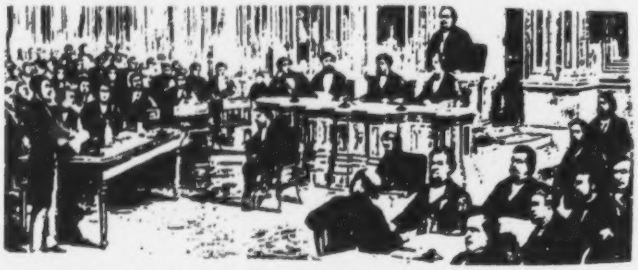
Rapid progress was being reported in the Northern press and the Radicals were becoming angry. They felt that all the Confederates deserved punishment. They thought of revenge on the South, Negroes should be allowed to vote and Confederates not be allowed to vote. Radicals also believed the Reconstruction Act was not sufficiently detailed in regard to representing Southern states in Congress.

Johnson set out on a tour of the North carrying a Lincoln/Johnson Reconstruction program to the people. He was warmly welcomed at first and was very successful. Then he ran into some hecklers and lost his temper. Instead of making an intelligent remark, he would fight back. His temper was another one of his weaknesses.

"POOR ANDY!"

Johnson personally opposed the Reconstruction Acts but carried them out after they became law. Then, in less than three months after they passed, he began interfering with them. For example, the law said that registrars, people who allowed others to vote, had the right to challenge a man's oath. Johnson felt that registrars did not have this right and did not follow this law. This was one of the things that led to Johnson's impeachment.

Andrew Johnson was the first and only President ever to be impeached. Impeachment is the final legal resort by people, through representatives, that removes government leaders. It is not technically removal but a charge of a crime. Representative James Ashley first asked the Committee on the Judiciary to look into the question of whether the President should be impeached in 1866. Johnson was accused of eleven charges in all, however, many of them were just rephrasing the basic charges. He was mainly charged on three accounts - violating the Tenure of Office Act, openly insulting the Congress, and wilfully breaking the law. He was also accused of selling pardons to ex-rebels and being a conspirator in Lincoln's assassination but these accusations were never proven.



The Tenure of Office Act forbid the President from removing officers without the consent of Congress. Johnson refused to believe that the Tenure of Office Act was legal. As President, he felt that because he chose officers that he had the right to fire them. Johnson was said to have broken the law when after he fired Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. He appointed first Grant, but Grant quit so Johnson then selected General Thomas. It was also said that Johnson made insults to Congress in some of his previous speeches; however, he denied that he meant anything by them.

The Radicals all supported Johnson's impeachment but were unsure of their victory. They felt it was a punishment to him for resisting the will of Congress. The two major questions to be considered were: Had the President's conduct made him liable to impeachment? If it had, would it be wise to impeach him?

The Republicans found it important to impeach Johnson on February 24th, Washington's birthday. It was said Johnson's presidential career began in "drunkenness" and ended in "crime". The vote was overwhelmingly to impeach Andrew Johnson, 126 to 47, for "high crimes and misdemeanors" as President.

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HANNIBAL HAMLIN

By SARA SWITZER

Sara Switzer was a student at Westlane Middle School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when she submitted this winning papper. Her teacher was Gary Keel.

Hannibal Hamlin was a good Vice-President, but one of unlikely stature in the changing tides of secession. He was an abolitionist from Paris, Maine, whose beliefs against slavery greatly influenced him. His presumptuous manner got attention, resulting in his election. He was an intelligent, honest, hardworking man and his relationship with President Abraham Lincoln grew past political duties. Their compatible personalities bonded their friendship. Together they worked for the emancipation of all slaves. For this, Hamlin was not thought of well by many Southerners. I will focus on his four year term as Vice-President when he worked to free the slaves and bring our nation back together.

Hamlin had been satisfied in his years in the Senate, but his friends and followers had more in mind for him. He had no desire to run for President or Vice-President, but he accepted their idea for his candidacy. The 1860 campaign was started and the word was spread. Organizers made some of his small town speeches public to the whole country. His moving speeches on antislavery issues opened many Northerner's eyes. His views on slavery were so strong that after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1856, he changed political parties.

Once a loyal Democrat, Hamlin became a member of the Republican Party. This caused many Democrats to dislike him and call him a traitor. Hamlin also was not liked by most Southerners because of his slavery ideas. It ended up he was nominated for Vice-President on the Republican ticket with Abraham Lincoln.

There were two opposing Democratic Party candidates, therefore splitting the Democratic vote. This is probably what caused Lincoln and Hamlin's election, besides the fact that many of their supporters thought that they would be a powerful team. Those thoughts were proven correct.

Lincoln and Hamlin were similar in many ways. They both had dark complexions and were men of impressive physique. Also their ideas about slavery were similar, but Hamlin's ideas were much more radical. Both were honest, hardworking men.

Though Lincoln and Hamlin were both popular before their election, they had never met before. They met soon after their election and it was obvious that this would be one of the few President/Vice-President relationships that was also a friendship. Even from the beginning, Lincoln put forth trust in Hamlin and a fair amount of power too. As Lincoln got to know Hamlin, he saw Hamlin's wisdom and took his advice in great heed. During the time between their election and their inauguration, they got to know each other, and they also got to see what they would have to overcome as head of our fading country.

Lincoln and Hamlin were not liked by many Southerners so every decision they made would be crucial if they were to prevent war. Prevention of war was nearly impossible but careful decision-making was still necessary. No matter what they did, they were always scorned by many. They were often misrepresented and rumors about them were vile and rampant. They were called "Black Republicans, nigger worshipers, and fanatics." Lincoln was called "man ape, and Southern renegade." Hamlin was called "nigger, mulatto, and Democratic traitor." Hamlin had a swarthy complexion but was called a "mulatto" in the belief that he had "black blood" in him. Because of his change of parties, some of the Democratic political leaders promoted these rumors even though they knew them to be false, to get even with Hamlin.

Lincoln and Hamlin's faithful followers knew these were untruths and, what they wanted to know was, what would their next step be in the prevention of war? First, negotiations were tried. One suggestion was to allow slavery everywhere south of 36° 30′. It was decided though that the idea wouldn't work. A compromise did not seem near. Hamlin deeply feared that secession was coming.

Lincoln and Hamlin were inaugurated on March 4, 1861. Hamlin realized that war was coming closer every day. He and his friends started organizing troops in his hometown in Maine. Soon, many people, in all of Maine, got the word and they started to prepare for a war.

On April 12, 1861, the first shots of the Civil War were fired on Fort Sumter by the Confederacy. The war were fired on Fort Sumter by the Confederacy. The war had started. Lincoln was now taking part in the gathering of troops. He asked Congress for 500,000 men and $500,000. Congress granted these requests, but many people questioned his reasoning for so few soldiers.

The Union had a high number of traitors in political positions. These traitors were not dealt with at the time and Lincoln was scorned for that. Stephen A. Douglas correctly said, "There can be none but patriots and traitors now." People were now choosing sides quickly.

At the beginning of the war, Hamlin was in New York City organizing troops while Lincoln was still in Washington D.C., Communication between them was nearly impossible. So, Hamlin had to make some judgement calls without Lincoln there. Hamlin was raising troops everywhere, especially in Maine. Maine led in the start of the war with many soldiers trained and ready to go. Hamlin traveled all around Maine giving speeches to encourage men to sign up and to generally support the Union. His voice of encouragement was heard by many.

Hamlin was also encouraging and pushing Lincoln, as others were too. Lincoln was moving very slowly in all of the aspects of war. He was commanding that few troops be sent out. No one understood his delayed reactions. Generals wrote him asking for permission to move troops towards battles. Letters in response were received a lot later, usually with the basic response "no" or a command to wait awhile before doing so. Lincoln had a theory backing his reactions up. With the position the Union was in, there was no need to move quickly. Cautious delay was needed to keep from moving too fast. Hasty judgements and mistakes would be made in Washington and in the battlefield, if time to contemplate the situation was not given. Lincoln had thought the Union would have victory in the end, and the victory is what conquers.

The question of negro soldiers was in everyone's minds. Hamlin was one of the first to suggest freeing and arming the slaves. The emancipation of all slaves is what Hamlin wanted to see. Lincoln held back though. At the time, it seemed to Lincoln that the Union might not be ready yet. This would be such a huge step, it took Lincoln much time to think things out. He wanted gradual emancipation. He started by abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia and trying to colonize the slaves that were set free. Hamlin did not agree with the colonization plan and the newly freed men refused to try it, so that plan fell short.

One night, back in Washington, Hamlin was making plans to visit Maine for awhile, but Lincoln insisted that he wasn't going anywhere. Lincoln read his Emancipation Proclamation to Hamlin that night. Lincoln is the only one to take credit for this document freeing four million slaves. Hamlin did not know that Lincoln had been writing it. It was a complete surprise, but one Hamlin had been hoping for.

The next step was to arm the slaves. Lincoln was still hesitant on this. He was worried that others wouldn't be prepared to accept the colored soldiers. Hamlin turned out to prove him wrong.

Several young officers came to Hamlin informing him that they would be honored to volunteer their services to lead any new colored troops. This is just what Hamlin needed to convince Lincoln. Hamlin hurried the officers to Lincoln's office where Hamlin presented the case. Lincoln then wrote orders to the Secretary of War to form an organization to arm the blacks, and there were already officers to lead them. Secretary Stanton was so overjoyed at the news that he promptly decided to assign the officers higher commands. Everything Hamlin had hoped for was falling into place.

Victories in the war were now more frequent too. Things were going really well for the Union. Many thought the war would soon be over. Apparently Lincoln must have agreed with them, because he stopped volunteer recruiting. That set off a reaction in the Union which changed many peoples' overview on the war. People started charging Lincoln with despotism. Some of the Union states, who weren't very faithful from the beginning, were getting fed up with the way things were running. Many were becoming disloyal to the Union. Rebellion was starting all throughout the Union.

A hasty judgement had been made, but Hamlin was determined to fix it. Hamlin started traveling again, giving speeches of encouragement to everyone. He traveled to encourage the citizens to keep faith. He talked about the new employment of negro soldiers and referred to them as "men blacker than I." Hamlin's speeches calmed some of the peoples' fear and gave the people a little faith in the Union, and brought out the patriotic spirit in some.

Hamlin also helped the soldiers through the war. In one camp, diphtheria spread and Hamlin dropped everything in the Senate to go see the soldiers and cheer them up. The soldiers realized what a gentle and caring man the Vice-President was. His voice showed them how proud he was of them, for the work they had done. The soldiers really liked his visit.

Hamlin also supported the negro soldiers; he sometimes gave speeches to them too. They were speeches of thanks and of patriotism. They thought well of him and liked his honesty. While Hamlin supported all of these people, he also supported Lincoln. Hard times were there and their friendship helped Lincoln along. Election time was coming up and Hamlin chose friendship over politics.

The radical leaders in Congress offered Hamlin a nomination for President. Hamlin refused though, and chose to, instead, help secure Lincoln's renomination. Hamlin still ran for Vice-President. Lincoln, along with many others, were sure that the old ticket would be elected again. Campaign time started and Lincoln did as much as he possibly could to support Hamlin.

There was a new name in the game though, Andrew Johnson. Lincoln didn't see him as a threat to the old ticket, but Johnson did seem to be pretty popular. Johnson was a Union Democrat and Lincoln thought him to be untrustworthy.

It ended up that Johnson was elected Vice-President with Lincoln as President. There were many rumors going around in political circles that Lincoln had worked against Hamlin in the campaigns and for Johnson. These rumors were false though; in fact, Lincoln disliked Johnson. Lincoln was quite disappointed when Hamlin wasn't elected. New rumors were thrown in the face of Hamlin all the time. He chose not to believe them. He knew that his old friend was still faithful.

During Lincoln's first term with Hamlin, Lincoln grew very much as a person. When he had been elected, he had little knowledge about the Presidency, but now he is one of the most famous men of that era. Many people did not have faith in Lincoln all along. Hamlin always did and called Lincoln "the greatest man of the age." Some may have disagreed then, but we now know that the title fits him well.

When Lincoln and Hamlin were elected, they had little knowledge of the problems they would face. Many people saw, as time went by, the growth of Lincoln and Hamlin together. Their abilities and thoughts became strengthened. They grew as political leaders of our country and as human beings once ignorant of secession and war. This powerful team of Lincoln and Hamlin is probably what won the war for the Union. They tried very hard for things to be right again in our country. An important thing to remember is their compassion.

They did not just care about issues, but also about the people affected by the issues. Hamlins's part in the war did not directly impact the results of the war itself, but his support to the citizens in the Union and to the soldiers in the Civil War greatly encouraged them to keep faith and work hard.

In conclusion, Hamlin's part in the war was not that great by nature of his job, but his advice to Lincoln was almost always taken and the care he exerted to all people, black and white, is remembered. Lincoln and Hamlin's hatred of slavery grew with the war and the importance for people not to be prejudiced was great then and still is. Lincoln and Hamlin's friendship is what allowed Hamlin to be so open. If this was not so, Hamlin would have done even less in the war. This open gateway between them, and their honesty to each other and the people of our country is remembered. Though the war was not actually won while they were in office, I feel that it was the team of Lincoln and Hamlin that ended the war. They ended it with an Emancipation Proclamation, 300,000 negro soldiers at work, and many other noticeable accomplishments. Hamlin was proud of their accomplishments and proud of the work the people did to support the Union. This unlikely Vice-President ended up having a very successful term.

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POLITICAL CAREERS OF LINCOLN'S VICE PRESIDENTS: HANNIBAL HAMLIN AND ANDREW JOHNSON

By TARA MICHELLE BANDINI

Tara Michelle Bandini was a student at Roncalli High School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Kathleen Damon.

Few aspects of American political history are as often overlooked or under-researched as the Vice Presidency of the United States. Even though the Vice President is traditionally thought of as being a "heartbeat" away from the Presidency, his mind, attitudes, opinions, and beliefs seem to cease to function while in the office. They are superseded by the President and many times the Cabinet. Occasionally he is consulted by the President, but seldom is his advice taken. Often the President confers with Cabinet members to discuss important affairs, while the Vice President adorns the Senate or travels to state funerals.

Nowhere is this phenomena more clearly illustrated than in the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln during one of the most critical times in United States history -- the Civil War. It was a great transitional period for the country; slavery was eradicated and a whole way of life was destroyed in four short years. However, this change in the country did not filter into the relationship between the President and Vice President.

Hannibal Hamlin, Lincoln's Vice President during the Civil War years, was consulted very rarely about official matters. Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's second Vice President, took over the office of President with his policies of Reconstruction after Lincoln died.

Interestingly enough, Abraham Lincoln and his Vice Presidents had similar backgrounds, although Lincoln's and Johnson's upbringings were more alike than those of Lincoln and Hamlin. All three men served a considerable amount of time in various government capacities before being elected to their prestigious positions. However, Hamlin's and Johnson's terms in Congress were much longer than Lincoln's. After their tenures in the Vice Presidency, both

Hamlin and Johnson once more returned to the United States Senate, a position that Lincoln had tried for but never attained.

Hannibal Hamlin, Abraham Lincoln's first Vice President, was born August 21, 1809, in Paris Hill, Maine. His father, a physician, named him after his twin brother. Hannibal grew up in a rugged farming environment that he always loved coming home to when politics called him away. His first encounter with a Lincoln family occurred when he was only nine years old. Enoch Lincoln, a lawyer from Massachusetts, came to live with the Hamlins for five years. During this time, Enoch Lincoln was elected first to Congress and then as governor of Maine. There is not doubt that Enoch Lincoln had a great influence that started Hamlin on his political career. (1)

Hamlin was preparing to enter Harvard in 1829, when his father died suddenly and he was called home to take over the family farm. In addition to farming, he dabbled in publishing, surveying, and teaching. In 1830 he began to study law in the office of Samuel Fessenden, whose son William would eventually challenge Hamlin for political leadership in Maine. Hamlin was admitted to the bar in 1833, and began practicing in the town of Hampden. He was a successful lawyer, not brilliant, but thorough and knowledgeable. He rapidly achieved a reputation as a public speaker, which opened the door to politics for him. His father and older brothers had been Federalists and later Whigs, but Hannibal was drawn to Jeffersonian Democracy and became an ardent follower of Andrew Jackson. His first experience in politicking came at the age of nineteen when he made a few stump speeches for Jackson in the Presidential campaign of 1828. After that, Hamlin became hooked on politics. (2)

In 1836, the town of Hampden sent him to the state legislature for five years, three of them spent as Speaker of the lower house. Hamlin acquired his nickname "Carthaginian of Maine" from a debate during his first term in the state legislature. An opponent made a comment about Hamlin's unusually dark complexion, whence Hamlin proceeded to give the veteran speaker a good tongue lashing. In the twilight of his career, Hamlin was known as the "Old Carthaginian." (3)

Hamlin lost his first bid for a seat in Congress, buried under the success of the Whig party and the "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" campaigns of 1840. He spent the next three years practicing law and building his political foundation. In 1843 he was elected to the House of Representatives and thereafter remained in Washington for nearly forty years. Hamlin did not like Washington; he never established a family residence there, and his family frequently visited him at his boarding house or hotel suite. He returned to Maine at every opportunity; the exertion of the physical labor of farming kept him in good condition. (4)

Hamlin's two terms in the House established him as a leader among Free Soil Democrats in the increasingly bitter controversy over slavery. Hamlin despised slavery, but he was not an abolitionist and he disapproved of the abolitionists' increasing agitation. He believed that Congress had no power to abolish slavery where it already existed but it could bar servitude in new territories. He also believed that abolitionists had a right to petition on the issue. (5) In 1850, he voted against a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, objecting to the compensation of slaveowners for their freed slaves.

> ...'There is an objection to the amendment offered by the Senator from New York, which would control my vote, if there were no other reason in the matter. He proposes to take from the national Treasury a sum of money to pay for the persons emancipated here by the provisions of his amendment. I would like very well to learn from that Senator, or from any other Senator, by what provision of the Constitution, by what authority, or by what power, we can appropriate money from the Treasury for the purpose of paying for emancipated slaves? I know of none. Besides that I know of no State, and shall be very glad to be informed if there is one, in which, where slaves have been emancipated, payment has been made for them.' (6)

Hamlin opposed a national bank and tariffs, except on Maine products; he also opposed dueling and the annexation of Texas unless part of the slave territory was reserved for free territory. He supported the building of a transcontinental railroad but otherwise opposed internal improvements at federal expense. In 1846 and 1847 he supported the Wilmot Proviso, which proposed that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of the territory acquired from Mexico. (7)

Hamlin's home district upheld a tradition that limited a congressman to two consecutive terms. This prevented Hamlin from sitting in the House with Lincoln during Lincoln's only term in Congress. In 1846 Hamlin lost a Senate seat by only one vote. He was elected to the state legislature but eighteen months later was back in the Senate due to the unexpected death of the incumbent, Governor Fairfield. Two years later, he was re-elected to a full term. (8)

While Hamlin served in the House, he got involved in many debates, but rarely spoke in the Senate. The explanation that he offered was that he preferred to be 'a working rather than a talking Senator.' (9) He delivered the first speech on the floor of the Senate in support of the admission of California as a free state; the speech was considered to be one of the most competent given on that subject. (10)

In the election of 1852 Hamlin campaigned for Franklin Pierce and was privileged to share the Presidential carriage at the Inauguration. After this, however, the Democratic party came under the control of pro-slavery Southerners, and Hamlin watched the rise of the Republican party in New England with some interest. A week after the Democratic national convention endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1856 and pledged that a Democratic administration would not interfere with the spread of slavery, Hamlin gave one of the finest speeches of his career in which he broke with the Democratic party. (11) However, this change was more in name than in spirit, for Hamlin had always taken action with the Free Soil Democrats. (12) In that same year the Republicans nominated him as their candidate for the governor of Maine, and won with a majority of 10,000 votes. However, six weeks after the inauguration he resigned to return to Washington and another Senate term, this time as a

Republican.

Sectionalism in the 1850s split the Democratic party, and the likelihood of a Republican victory in 1860 became greater. Hannibal Hamlin was gaining stature in the eyes of the New England politicians; his record as a "Free Soiler" was perfect -- a former Democrat and an outspoken enemy of slavery. With the Chicago convention approaching, Hamlin was often mentioned as a possible candidate for the Presidency. He discouraged his name being put forward and made his friends promise not to push him. Hamlin did not think that he had a chance at the Presidential nomination and was not interested in second place. His personal choice for the nomination was Lincoln but he feared that it would go to Senator William H. Seward of New York. Hamlin did not attend the convention and was deeply pleased when Lincoln won. The news of his nomination to the Vice-Presidency also came as a surprise to Hamlin. (13) Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin were elected to the White House in the election of 1860.

Oddly, prior to the election, Lincoln and Hamlin had never met, and so a November 1860 meeting was set up in Chicago. They discussed affairs relating to their joint administration and Lincoln invited Hamlin's opinion on the selection of the Cabinet members. Hamlin was also given the assurance that he would get to select the New England member. (14)

Hamlin had high hopes for the Vice Presidency. He wanted to have a strong voice in decision making, but like many others was quickly disappointed. Lincoln always listened attentively to Hamlin's advice but showed little proclivity toward taking it. White House custom barred Hamlin from Cabinet meetings where decisions were discussed. Hamlin soon discovered that he had traded an influential seat in the Senate for one with no power at all. He came to describe himself as a 'fifth wheel on a coach.' (15)

The high point of Hamlin's vice presidency came in 1862, when, Lincoln, after swearing Hamlin to secrecy, showed him a preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. Hamlin made a few suggestions about wording, most of which were accepted. Hamlin urged immediate issurance of the proclamation, but Lincoln wanted to wait until the Northern armies were at an advantage and held off until after the battle of Antietam. Hamlin subsequently acknowledged that he had been wrong about the timing and Lincoln had been right. (16)

Hamlin shared his feelings about the conduct of the war with the Radical Republicans in Congress and the Cabinet, but avoided the slightest hint of infringement on the powers and prerogatives of the President. He remained at the task of presiding over the Senate, a job that bored him. At every opportunity, Hamlin left Washington to go back to Maine. His one contribution to senatorial business, still in effect, has gone largely unnoticed. Congressional members were notorious for hard drinking, and it was not unusual for drunken scenes to take place on the floor of both houses. The Senate even had its own private bar. After some disgraceful events, Hamlin ordered the bar closed. It still is today. (17)

Hamlin had little else to do besides preside over the Senate. For two months in 1864 he served a tour of garrison duty with the Maine Coast Guards. He was very diligent in securing federal patronage for his home state and supporters, for he thought that there was no reason why Maine should not get its share of federal support. Late in his term, Hamlin also had a serious falling out with Gideon Welles, the New Englander whom he had urged Lincoln to appoint, because of Welles' refusal to establish a prize court in Maine. (18)

With the 1864 elections drawing near, Hamlin appeared to be the best choice as Lincoln's running mate. Lincoln had already stated that he would be happy to run with Hamlin but preferred to leave the choice to the convention. (19) At the Republican convention in Baltimore, Hamlin lost the vice presidential nomination on the first ballot. The nomination went instead to Andrew Johnson. There is no direct evidence that Lincoln played a role in this change, but modern historians contend that Lincoln secretly worked for Johnson so as not to give offense to New England. Hamlin showed no signs of indignation until after the inauguration and campaigned for Lincoln and Johnson in the elections. (20)

After President Lincoln's assassination, the newly appointed President Johnson appointed Hamlin "Collector of the Port of Boston," a very lucrative position. Hamlin kept this job for less than a year; he quit in protest of Johnson's Reconstruction policies. Hamlin supported the Fourteenth Amendment and hoped for Johnson's impeachment. (21)

In 1869 Hamlin returned to the Senate and served with Andrew Johnson, the only time in United States history that a former President and Vice President sat in Congress together. During the Grant administration, Hamlin was a power in the Senate, with almost unrestricted access to Grant. This situation changed when Rutherford B. Hayes became President. The two men clashed repeatedly. (22)

Hamlin had initially planned on serving only one term as a Senator. He was reelected in 1875 and elected chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He and President Hayes both opposed the Chinese Exclusion Bill, one of the few issues on which they both agreed. (23) After he served out his term, Hamlin was appointed Minister to Spain by the Secretary of State and Maine political ally, James G. Blaine. (24) In 1882, he returned to the United States and retired from politics. The last nine years of his life were spent peacefully on his farm in Maine. He died on July 4, 1891, nearly 82 years old. (25)

Lincoln's second Vice President had a much different career than did Hamlin. Johnson, born on December 29, 1808, in Raleigh, North Carolina, knew poverty and had little formal schooling. His father died when he was only three years old. When Johnson was fourteen, his newly remarried mother apprenticed him and his brother William to James J. Selby, a tailor. After two years of apprenticeship, the boys ran away from their master. Selby offered a reward of $10 for their deliverance but no tangible results were produced. (26) The brothers ran to Carthage, about seventy-five miles from Raleigh, where they lived for a few months, supported by Andrew's business as a tailor.

Soon Andrew moved to Laurens, South Carolina, where he was briefly involved with a young woman. After about a year in South Carolina, the brothers went back to Raleigh; Andrew wanted to serve out his apprenticeship with Selby. Selby, however, had closed up his shop and moved out to the country, leaving Andrew Johnson penniless and out of a job. (27)

The Johnsons made the decision to go west to Tennessee. After a journey of about a month, they settled in Greeneville. The day after their arrival Andrew found work at the tailor shop. He worked at his trade for several months in various places in Tennessee, and in March 1827, when he heard that the Greeneville tailor had quit, he rejoined his family and opened up his own shop -- the "A. Johnson Tailor Shop." (28)

At the time of his marriage in 1826 to Eliza McCardle, Andrew could spell just a little and read only a few of the simplest words. Eliza taught him to read and write, and in ten years he was a fair speller and was writing in a legible hand. After he was taught to read, Johnson read everything he could get his hands on. (29)

The Andrew Johnson Tailor Shop soon became the center of village politics. Andrew employed a reader, paying him fifty cents a day to read aloud while he worked. Current newspapers, speeches of Senators and Congressmen, government reports, and other such books were read aloud to him. All the important topics of the day were covered -- from the "Tariff of Abominations" to Tennessee's Constitution. (30)

Johnson, like Hamlin, got involved in government while in his early 20s. When he was only 21, he was elected one of Greeneville's aldermen, and became the mayor of Greeneville at 22. From 1835 to 1838 he was a member of the Tennessee state legislature. In his thirteen years in Tennessee government, Johnson had "advocated no measure and given no vote except for economy and reform and in furtherance of the rights of the laborer." (31) It was on this record that he ran for Congress in 1843.

Johnson remained in the House of Representatives for the next ten years, regularly denouncing appropriations for frivolous expenses -- perhaps due to his childhood of poverty. He thought the Smithsonian Institute was useless but could be salvaged if changed to a university. He also proposed closing West Point and Annapolis, complaining that the army and navy were "two great arteries by which this Government will be bled to death." (32) Johnson served two terms as Governor of Tennessee and was elected to the United States Senate in 1857. He resigned from the Senate in 1862 to assume his duties as military governor of Tennessee, the position he occupied when he was elected Vice President.

Lincoln sent Johnson to Tennessee to begin the process of "restoration," or reconstruction, of loyal civil government. This required popular elections, which in turn required a secure countryside. In order to secure the state, all Confederate military forces had to be expelled. Nevertheless, the eastern portion of the state, strongly Unionist, came under tight Confederate rule; the western portion, intensely Confederate, came under Union occupation following the capture of Memphis in June 1862. It was not until December 1864 that Nashville was safe from Confederate aggression. (33) The Confederate Army had been crushed at the battle of Nashville and Tennessee was positively won for the Union. (34)

The Reconstruction convention met in January 1865 and Johnson favored immediate, decisive measures. Obstructionists were overruled, and slow methods of procedure were disapproved. The work of the convention was finished in two months. Oliver P. Temple, a personal friend of Andrew Johnson, remarked "Was not this long delay in calling a convention due to Johnson's desire to hold his position of Military Governor until he could step into a higher place in March?" (35)

> ...'His ambition was to carry to Washington his own state as a reconstructed member of the Union, and present it as a rich jewel to the nation. It would give

> him new prestige and éclat. Hence his sudden haste just at the close of his service of military governor.' (36)

No matter how hard Johnson worked to accomplish his plans, he still left the work unfinished and came to Washington. Alas, he was not able to bring with him his perfect "jewel" with which he might have courted favors for himself.

Andrew Johnson only served in the office of Vice President for about six weeks before Lincoln was assassinated. His first speech to the Senate as Vice President was made in a drunken stupor; some of his friends had given him alcohol trying to help him recover from an illness. He was never to escape the charge of drunkard. (37)

The first document issued by Johnson as President was a statement in which he asked the Lincoln Cabinet to continue to serve and suggested that Lincoln's actions of the past would be clues to his intentions in the future. Johnson also issued a Proclamation of Mourning immediately after Lincoln's death; this document reflected the mood of the nation. The Proclamation of Reward offered a considerable sum of money for the arrest of former Confederate leaders who were suspected of conspiring with John Wilkes Booth. (38)

To Andrew Johnson, Reconstruction meant enabling the states to return to their full Constitutional rights as soon as possible. Johnson had always believed in limited government and a strict interpretation of the Constitution. He was also an avid nationalist but this did not contradict his respect for the rights of the states. Johnson had said in 1861 that no state could secede from the Union because states' rights did not include secession. (39)

His plan for Reconstruction was to impose conditions, just as Lincoln had planned to do before his death. One of the conditions was the abolition of slavery, and the question arose whether or not black suffrage should be required for a state to be readmitted to the Union. (40) Johnson condemned slavery in public speeches but made no commitment to civil equality or a political role for freedman. He was often accused of being prejudiced and nowhere is this more evident than in a December 1867 message to Congress when he insisted that blacks had less

> ...'capacity for government than any other race of people. No independent government of any form has ever been successful in their hands. On the contrary, wherever they have been left to their own devices they have shown a constant tendency to relapse into barbarism.' (41)

This was one of the most blatantly racist statements ever to appear in an official state paper of a President. Johnson was a racist to some extent, and so were many Radicals in Washington. (42) Even Johnson's political allies noticed that he had 'unconquerable prejudices against the African race.' (43) However, when racial policy was seen as a focus of Reconstruction controversy, Johnson worked to counteract the image of being indifferent to the freedmen's fate. He advised Mississippi Governor William L. Sharkey to grant the franchise to "literate and property-holding freedmen." (44)

Johnson's final plan of Reconstruction did not become known until the end of May 1865. It called for amnesty and pardon and a restoration of all property rights except slaves. The loyalty oath had to be taken by all who participated in rebellion. Owners of taxable property in the South valued at more than $20,000 had to apply individually for Presidential pardons; this excluded the economic elite from a voice in Reconstruction. The plan also called for the Southern states to hold conventions and amend their prewar constitutions so as to create a "republican form of government" entitling the states to their rights within the Union. (45)

Andrew Johnson was impeached in 1868 when he was accused of violating the Tenure of Office Act. He fired his Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, and was tried for "high crimes and misdemeanor." The Senate found Johnson not guilty by one vote and he remained in office. Johnson ran several times for Congress after his Presidential term expired. He was defeated twice and in 1875 was elected as a Senator. He only held his seat for six months before he died only July 31, 1875. (46)

Even with all of the political changes of the past 202 years, the role of the Vice

President has changed relatively little. It was and still is a powerless position on the threshold of the tremendous power of the Presidency. Hannibal Hamlin found that he had more influence when he was in the Senate than when he was Vice President; Lincoln rarely if ever discussed the nation's affairs with him. Obviously, time did not permit Lincoln to interact with Johnson about critical matters, but given the history of the relationship between the President and Vice President, and the particular relationship between Lincoln and Hamlin, it is doubtful that Lincoln would have discussed national affairs with Johnson. The Vice Presidency is often overlooked by many, apparently even Abraham Lincoln passed over it a few times. This is still true of the Vice Presidency today; it is largely an "insurance policy" for the nation.

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LINCOLN AND HIS VICE-PRESIDENTS

UNITY

By NATHAN DAVIS

Nathan Davis was a student at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, when he submitted this winning papper. His teacher was Jerome Landman.

Abraham Lincoln was a President of unity. He stated that preserving the Union of the States was his primary goal and that the abolition of slavery was second to that chief goal. He sought the unity of his country above all else. Lincoln sought the same thing within his party as well.

Lincoln's desire for this unity was demonstrated in his choices of Cabinet members. In 1860, William Seward was snubbed by his party in the nomination for Presidential candidate. Lincoln was chosen to be the Republican candidate, though Seward had more experience in the intrigues of Washington. To maintain the loyalty of Seward and his New England faction to the party, Lincoln offered him the Cabinet position of Secretary of State. Seward's nomination insured that the party would remain intact and not crumble in sectional dispute (Lincoln's Mid-West v. Seward's New England) as had the beleaguered Democratic party (Slave South v. Non-Slave North).

Two more examples of how Lincoln was a man of unity came in the form of his Vice-Presidential running mates in the 1860 and 1864 elections. In 1860, Lincoln chose Hannibal Hamlin. In 1864, he chose Andrew Johnson. These two men were similar in some very important ways, yet differed in other key ways.

In 1860, Hannibal Hamlin was a senator from Maine. He was an unusual man in the Republican Party as, unlike most members who were former Whigs, he began his political life as a Democrat. A true Northerner, however, he had a contempt for the institution of slavery.

...In 1850, such radicals as Seward and Hamlin still remained members of the

> assignments and caucused with their associates. But their determination to remain loyal to the cause [abolition] was as firm as their Free-Soil associates. (Trefousse RR 46)

By 1856, however, Hamlin had gotten tired of compromising with the southern segment of the Democratic party and both Hamlin and Seward had joined the Republicans (Seward having joined when the Whigs disbanded).

Hamlin was nominated for the Vice-Presidency by his new party, the Republicans, for one primary reason, unity. The Republican nomination for President was in much contention in 1860. Three seasoned politicians vied for it, and their supporters were adamant. William Seward was a long-time senator and a powerful East-coast politician from the important electoral state of New York. Salmon P. Chase was another long-time power Senator from Ohio. Also, there was yet another Ohio Senator in Benjamin F. Chase. As it became obvious that none of the three could receive the Presidential nomination and keep the party intact at the same time, a compromise was reached. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, who had made his name known throughout the nation a few years earlier with his debates with powerful Democrat Stephen Douglas, could be nominated.

Lincoln was a moderate choice. He had carefully avoided radical abolitionist statements but had instead relied on the assertion that two sections of the country divided by slavery, as the North and the South were, could not remain together for long. He also wanted to see the United States remain intact. Yet he too was adamant about the cruelty of slavery. He could be trusted by the radicals to do everything in his power to end the "evil" institution.

The emphasis of the convention then shifted to the Vice-Presidential nomination. Many favored Seward for the post as the representative from the East on the ticket. However, Seward was a former Whig, and the Republican party had recently come under fire as the

Whig party, simply under a different name. Even some of the party's own former Democrats were feeling the Whiggishness of the Republican party. Someone was needed to mollify both the eastern and the Democratic segments of the party.

The person presented himself in the form of Hannibal Hamlin. An ex-Democrat, the Maine Senator was one of Lincoln's original supporters. Though he, Seward and the rest of the candidates may have been more powerful within the Republican party, their nomination may have caused the Democrats to unite behind one candidate, just to block a powerful and radical Republican from the office of the Presidency. Lincoln was looked on by the general populace as not as radical and not as much of a threat to win the Presidency outright. Hamlin had supported Lincoln from the first.

However, Hamlin was also a close friend of Seward's. Thus, both the Easterners (Hamlin coming from Maine) and the Seward supporters (the largest and most influential segment of the party) could identify with someone on the ticket. Hamlin was the unifying force within the Republican party in 1860.

Lincoln had been introduced to Hamlin only once before the nomination and it is unlikely that Hamlin even remembered meeting his running mate. Lincoln, however, came to trust his Vice-President, consulting with him on some important issues. Hamlin also did a good deal of Lincoln's traveling. He was sent by Lincoln to sound out Seward, Chase, and Gideon Wells on their willingness to take Cabinet posts. Hamlin, a good politician, became a strong ally of the President.

However, Hamlin's purpose in the election had been served. He and Lincoln had kept the Republican party together.

As the years of the Civil War passed, the times changed, and when the Presidential nomination came to be an issue, circumstances had changed with the times. Lincoln was no longer the choice of compromise; he was the choice of strength. The entire party supported Lincoln, especially with the war drawing to an end, and though Hamlin was a trusted adviser and compatriot, he was no longer needed by Lincoln to keep the party together.

Instead of Lincoln thinking of the unity of his party, he was thinking of the unity of his nation. It was important, first of all, to keep the border states like Missouri, Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky loyal to the Union. Secondly, it was important to make overtures of peace to the South to draw the Confederate states back into the Union. Friendly overtures of "malice toward none" needed to be made to make reconstruction of the Union as painless as possible. If one looks at the Vice-Presidential nomination in this light, an entirely new set of qualifications emerges.

First, the candidate must appeal to the southern and border states. Preferably, the man himself would be from those states. Secondly, the man must have proven himself loyal to his country, preferably working against the disunification and for a reunification. Lastly, he needed to reunite the North. There had been much protest against the war against the Confederacy, and Lincoln and his Republican party had been labeled the party of war. Therefore, by default, the Democrats became the party of peace. The candidate must appeal to Democrats, as well as to the Republicans. There were two obvious choices.

Lincoln's first choice for the nomination was General Benjamin Butler, formerly the military mayor of New Orleans and now in charge of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina at Fort Monroe.

> ..."Early in 1864, he [Lincoln] sent Simon Cameron to Fort Monroe to sound out Ben Butler for a possible position on the ticket . . . the general did say no, and Lincoln had to turn elsewhere." (Trefousse AJ 177)

Later that year, Lincoln sent another man to seek out another potential candidate. In May, General Daniel Sickles arrived in Nashville on a fact-finding trip. It is almost certain that the facts he was to find were about Tennessee's military governor, Democrat Andrew Johnson.

Andrew Johnson was elected by the upper house of Tennessee to the United States' Senate in 1857 and vigorously opposed that State's secession. When the United States' Senate reconvened in 1861, he was allowed to sit in on the proceedings, though his state was beyond the regulation of the Constitution.

Good fortune struck in 1862, when General Grant took Forts Henry and Donelson. This placed the majority of Tennessee in possession of Union forces. Some sort of government needed to be in place ". . . to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, . . . [and] promote the general welfare . . ." (The Preamble of the Constitution)

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 3, 1862

To the HON. ANDREW JOHNSON:

SIR, you are hereby appointed military governor of the State of Tennessee, with authority to exercise and perform, within the limits of that State, all and singular the powers, duties, and functions pertaining to the office of military governor, including the power to establish all necessary offices, tribunals, etc.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War (McCarthy 11)

Johnson was, practically speaking, the only person with the qualifications necessary for the post. Stanton needed someone loyal to the Union, yet he needed someone who understood the Tennessee people and someone whom they would accept.

Johnson did many things toward the reconstruction of Tennessee. Johnson's primary duties were to suppress disloyal acts and restore order. (McCarthy 18)

> ...However, to these duties of governor and general he added those of quartermaster and judge. Though thousands of loyal people flocked to him for

> arms and supplies, he proved equal to every demand, and from their number raised an army that did gallant service on the field. (McCarthy 19)

By September, "Tennessee [was] . . . clear of armed insurrection," (McCarthy 22) according to Lincoln in a letter to Johnson. Johnson was further instructed to carry out "elections," that of course would place Union men in control of the Tennessee government. For several years, Johnson subjected Tennesseans to loyalty tests, including a strict loyalty oath. When this process concluded, county elections were finally held on March 5, 1864. Governor Johnson was serving his people.

This was how General Sickles found him in May. On June 8, when the Republican convention met to nominate a ticket, Abraham Lincoln was overwhelmingly renominated. A motion was defeated to renominate Hamlin as Vice-President. A motion was made to nominate Johnson and seconded. He was uniquely suited for the position. He was from Tennessee to mollify the southern states. He was a Democrat to mollify the Democrats. He was also viewed as a hero by the North for his pro-union work in Tennessee as military governor. He won the nomination on the second ballot. The Republican and winning ticket was officially Lincoln-Johnson.

The general like of Johnson only lived until Inauguration Day. Andrew Johnson had one weakness, a strong desire for strong alcohol. The night before, Johnson had attended a party. He drank heavily. The next morning on the way to the Inauguration, Johnson

> . . . had pleaded nervousness and had asked Mr. Hamlin for a drink. He felt sick he said. So Hamlin had got a bottle, and handed it to Mr. Johnson, who was not in any stronger condition to fight the effects of whiskey today than he had been last night. (Bishop 34)

Johnson addressed the crowd for the first time as Vice-President drunk.

None of the papers told the shocking news of Johnson's disgrace. However, everyone in Washington heard the news the next day, if not the day of the Inauguration. Lincoln spoke of the event later by saying,

> ..."Oh well. Don't you bother about Andy Johnson's drinking, he made a bad slip the other day, but I have known Andy a great many years and he's no drunkard." (Bishop 36)

However, Lincoln did not speak with Johnson again until the morning of April 14, 1865. That morning they spoke briefly in the President's office about the future reconstruction. That night, Abraham Lincoln was shot at Ford's Theatre and died the next morning without regaining consciousness.

Abraham Lincoln was a President of unity. His relationships with his Vice-Presidents demonstrate this. With his selection of Hamlin and then Johnson, Lincoln maintained unity within his party, within the North, and began the process to re-establish unity in the nation.

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HANNIBAL HAMLIN:

FROM JACKSONIAN DEMOCRAT TO RADICAL REPUBLICAN

By ANDY PERSONETT

Andy Personett was a student at Roncalli High School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when he submitted this winning paper. His teacher was Kathleen Damon.

I. General duties of a Vice-President

  A. Preside over Senate
  B. Possible President

II. Political career of Hannibal Hamlin

  A. Law
  B. House of Representatives
  C. Senator

III. Vice-Presidency

  A. Nomination
  B. "Fifth wheel..."
  C. Not nominated for second term

Many people believe that the job of the Vice-President is insignificant. Actually, this statement is true in a limited way because the Vice-President does not play a major role in the decision-making of the President or of the Senate. According to the Constitution, the duty of the Vice-President is to preside over the Senate and has no vote when matters are being decided by the Senate, except in the instance of a tie.

However, the role of the Vice-President is tremendously important in the sense that in the occurrence of the death, impeachment, or resignation of the President, he assumes the duties of the President and completes the term. The main purpose of the Vice-President, then, is to take control of the nation in case of the demise of the President. This role is heightened in times of national turmoil, most especially during the American Civil War.

Hannibal Hamlin was the Vice-President under Abraham Lincoln during four of the most meaningful years of United States history, the Civil War. Although he held this office during the Civil War and had a long, successful political career, there is surprisingly little information to be found about him. He is, for the most part, one of the least studied and least known political leaders in US history.

The political career of Hannibal Hamlin endured for almost half a century. During this era Hamlin served with the most famous political leaders in the nineteenth century, such as Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and Stephen A. Douglas. His background and experience as a politician eventually gained him the Vice-Presidency, yet he is less known today than any of the famous people he served with.

At the age of twenty, Hamlin had decided to attend Harvard to study law. But, in the spring of 1830, the untimely death of his father, Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, brought him back to his hometown, Paris-Hill, Maine, to care for his family and their farm. (1) Although Hamlin could not attend Harvard, his dream of becoming a lawyer was not ended. During the next two years, Hamlin operated the family farm and also found time for many other activities. He published a newspaper called the Oxford Jeffersonian, surveyed land, taught school, and in 1830, began reading law at the office of Samuel Fessenden. (2) During this time he was attracted to Jacksonian Democracy and made many speeches supporting Andrew Jackson. As an effect of these speeches in support of Jackson, he gained a reputation for his ability as a public speaker. (3) These speeches opened the door to a long and successful political career. (4)

In the spring of 1833, Hamlin completed his preparation for admission to the bar and was given his license to practice law later that year. After his marriage to Sarah Emery on December 10, 1833, Hamlin established his law office in Hampden, Maine. His time as a lawyer was successful. Though Hamlin was not particularly brilliant, he was always quite thorough and knowledgeable and soon developed a fairly wide practice. (5)

Hamlin was elected to his first public office in September of 1835 as a representative to the state legislature from Hampden. He remained at this office for five years. And, for three of the five years, he served as the speaker of the lower house. (6)

Hamlin, as a Democrat, ran against the Whig candidate Elisha Allen in the Congressional election of 1840. Under normal circumstances Hamlin would have won the position with ease. (7) But, the Whigs, who had blamed the Democrats for the Panic of 1837, defeated the Democrats throughout the United States. Hamlin was defeated by a two-hundred vote majority by Allen so he went back to continue his law profession in Hamden. (8)

Although he was defeated in 1840, Hamlin still wished to win the next Congressional election in 1843. Once again, Elisha Allen opposed Hamlin, but this time, the outcome of the election was totally different. Hamlin won by an overwhelming majority of more than one thousand votes. In November, 1843, Hamlin embarked on his first journey to Washington. (9)

Hamlin was not impressed by Washington and did not like living there. Throughout his terms as Congressman, Senator, Vice-President, and Senator again, he lived in hotels and boarding houses. (10) He never considered building or renting a house in Washington. Although he held various public offices there for more than forty years, he spent almost all of his free time in Maine when Congress was not in session, visiting his family and working at his farm. (11)

Hamlin strongly opposed slavery, and his first two terms in the House of Representatives proved that he was a leader among the "Free Soil" Democrats in their fight against slavery. (12) He believed that Congress could not abolish slavery where it already existed, but it could bar it from the new territories. He, along with John Quincy Adams and anti-slavery men of both parties, were in opposition to the proposal of the "gag rule", which "tabled all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way to slavery, or the abolition of slavery." (13) The gag rule was supported by Southern members of the House of Representatives and generally rejected by the Northern members. Hamlin and the other anti-slavery members believed that this rule prevented the right of the public to petition against slavery. Referring to this belief, Hamlin said:

> ...'If the right of the people, to have their petitions received is dependent upon the will of the majority, then there was no question over which a majority, perhaps arbitrary and tyrannical, might not exercise that right, and the right of petition becomes then not the right of a constitution, but a right dependent upon the bill.' (14)

The bill was reimposed but was downed on a motion by Adams on December 3, 1844.

Due to a tradition in his district, Hamlin could not be elected in 1846 to his third consecutive term in the House, which, coincidentally, was to be the only term that Lincoln was to serve in Congress. In 1846 Hamlin made his first attempt for a seat in the Senate but lost by one vote. Immediately following the defeat, the people of Maine reelected him to the state legislature. But, a year and a half later, a Senate seat was vacated by the unexpected death of an incumbent. So, in 1848 Hamlin resigned from his seat in the state legislature to

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take the position in the Senate to complete what was left of the term. Two years later he was elected to a full term.

Hamlin handled his first term in the Senate much different that he handled his terms in the House. (15) As a Congressman he often involved himself in many House debates, but as Senator he was quite and rarely spoke. (16) When he did speak, it was for a short period of time, and he was very concise. His explanation for this was that the Senate already had more than enough elegant speakers, and that he preferred to be "a working rather than a talking Senator." (17)

Although he had the new quality of reticence in Senate meetings, Hamlin still held on to his anti-slavery beliefs. He was a strong advocate of the Wilmot Proviso, created by David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania. (18) Wilmot proposed that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of the territory acquired from Mexico." (19) Wilmot, Hamlin, and other anti-slavery politicians tried earnestly to get this bill passed in the Senate, but it was tabled in 1850.

The tabling of the Wilmot Proviso and several other activities of fellow members of the Democratic Party began to agitate Hamlin. (20) He had campaigned endless hours for the Democratic Presidential candidate Franklin Pierce in the 1852 election. But, to his dismay, after Pierce won the election, Hamlin observed the Pierce administration being taken over by the pro-slavery Southern Democrats. (21)

Hamlin was also angered by the Democratic dedication to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, drawn up by Stephen A. Douglas. (22) Douglas proposed that the Kansas and Nebraska territories be organized on the basis of "popular sovereignty", which allowed the first group, either pro-slavery or anti-slavery, to win the majority to draw up the new state constitution.

At this point Hamlin began noticing the newly forming Republican Party that was emerging in New England. Hamlin, being totally set against slavery in the territories, broke with the Democratic Party in 1856 after they had endorsed the bill and instructed the government not to interfere with the spread of slavery. Hamlin then joined the Republican Party, which he had admired since it started in the early 1850's. (23)

Hamlin was enthusiastically received into the Republican Party after his break with the Democrats. (24) In 1856 he was promptly elected to his first office as a Republican. The people of Maine had voted him Governor by a majority of more than ten-thousand votes. His term as Governor of Maine was short, for he had resigned to take another seat in the Senate in 1857 as a Republican.

Toward the end of 1859, New England politicians wanted Hamlin to be a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. They believed that Hamlin had the political experience and the ability to be President. Also, they were convinced that he was a logical choice for the nomination because he was a former Democrat and his battles against slavery were extraordinary. Although Hamlin was qualified, he was not interested in either the Presidency or the Vice-Presidency. Personally, his choice for the Presidential nomination was Abraham Lincoln. (25)

Before the Republican national convention met in Chicago, Hamlin had forced his friends who were to attend the convention to promise not to nominate him for either the Presidency or the Vice-Presidency, but these promises were soon broken. When the opportunity arrived, the delegates from New England nominated Hamlin for Vice-President after the Presidential nomination went to Abraham Lincoln. (26) At first Hamlin was going to refuse the nomination, but under the advice of friends, he agreed to it. In his acceptance letter, he endorsed the Republican platform and praised the selection of Lincoln as the nominee for the President.

The election of 1860 was unlike any other election. Hamlin and Lincoln were only on the ticket in the Northern states. Due to extreme sectional differences during this time period, Republicans were not well liked in the South. This major disadvantage for the Republicans was negated by the split in the Democratic ticket between Stephen A. Douglas and John C. Breckenridge. Other candidates included John Bell of the National Union Party and Sam Houston as an Independent.

Although he had never met Lincoln, Hamlin knew of his political abilities and experience. When Lincoln and Hamlin finally met after the election, the relationship was cordial and friendly. (27) It would remain as such through the entire four years of the term. Hamlin always made sure that his radical views did not ever cross with the conservative views of Lincoln. (28)

As Vice-President, Hamlin believed that he would have a strong role in decision-making. Lincoln had even told him, "Mr. Hamlin, I desire to say to you that I shall accept, and shall be willing to accept, in the very best spirit, any advice that, you the Vice-President, may give me." (29)

Hamlin was quickly disheartened. He had told Lincoln that the appointment of William L. Seward as Secretary of State was an imprudent decision and that Seward would try to take control of the administration. (30) Lincoln listened to, but did not take, the advice. This was to occur many times through Hamlin's term as Vice-President. Hamlin discovered that he had gone from a position of considerable power in the Senate to a position of little power.

Even during the Civil War, Hamlin was not given much power. He had often described himself as the "fifth wheel on a coach." (31) Though Hamlin presided over the Senate, he still felt voiceless. The only time he did have a strong opinion in the Senate was when there was a tie, which was quite seldom. He tried to do his best at the job, but it bored him. (32) Lincoln did give Hamlin a few duties, though. Hamlin was given the privilege to select the New England representative in the Cabinet from a list of three people. Hamlin chose former Jacksonian Democrat, Gideon Welles, as the Secretary of the Navy. (33)

The apex in the Vice-Presidential career of Hannibal Hamlin was when Lincoln showed him the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln requested any changes that Hamlin might have to the document. Hamlin revised many items in the draft, and Lincoln accepted nearly each one of them. (34) This showed that Lincoln truly trusted and valued his opinion, and Hamlin took great pride in knowing that.

As the 1864 election neared, Hamlin seemed to be the logical running mate for Lincoln. The renomination of Lincoln was almost automatic, and most Republicans believed that Hamlin would join him on the ticket for another term. Hamlin thought to the contrary. (35) Most of all, Hamlin wanted to be a Senator again. He did not want to spend another four years of complete political impotency. So, Hamlin decided that if he was to be nominated again he would decline it, and run for Senator in the next election. (36)

Hamlin never had the chance to decline the nomination because he was not nominated for another term. The nomination went to Andrew Johnson, a War Democrat from Tennessee. The reason for the change is not certain. Some historians argue that Hamlin was expendable and that Lincoln did not need, nor want, a Radical Republican as a Vice-President, while others claim that Lincoln secretly pushed for the nomination of Johnson. Whatever the reason was, it consequently made Johnson the seventeenth President of the United States.

Even though Johnson became Vice-President and subsequently President instead of Hamlin, it does not mean that Hannibal Hamlin should not even appear in most history books and other literature regarding this era. Hamlin was Vice-President during the most important and trying era of United State history. His distinguished and successful career should have earned him a notable spot in history, but it has not. He should not be an outcast or expendable figure in US history. Hannibal Hamlin, who served most notably as United States Senator and as the Civil War Vice-President, should not be forgotten.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

By JOSEPH RIEHLE

Joseph Riehle was a student at Roncalli High School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when he submitted this winning paper. His teacher was Kathleen Damon.

I. THE ROLE OF A VICE-PRESIDENT
    A. Candidate
    B. Officeholder

II. HANNIBAL HAMLIN
    A. Political Background
    B. Relationship with Lincoln
    C. Term as Vice-President

III. EVALUATION OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE
    A. Candidate's Role in Election
    B. Vice-President's Role in Office

No matter how popular or skilled before their election, Vice-Presidents typically serve in the shadow of their President--gaining little attention and exercising even less power. The first Vice-President of Lincoln, Hannibal Hamlin, accurately illustrates this fact. If mentioned at all in modern history textbooks, there is simply an acknowledgement that he was there. (1) The name of Hannibal Hamlin, although popular at the time, is virtually forgotten by all but the most avid historians today. His lack of modern-day fame should not be attributed to a poor job done while in office. He fulfilled adequately what little political functions he had.

Hannibal Hamlin was the typical Vice-President. Although he was "a remarkably able and hard working public servant, (2)" he exercised very little power and longed for his days in the Senate when he could actually influence policymaking. (3) An understanding of the man himself and the factors that brought him to the Vice-Presidency enables one to see the role the vast majority of Vice-Presidents have played in politics since the creation of Constitutional government.

By the late 1850's, Hannibal Hamlin had emerged as Maine's most successful and influential Senator. He had an extensive political background consisting of five years in the Maine state legislature, two terms in the United States House of Representatives, a partial term as Governor, and he was serving his second term in the Senate. (4)

He began his political career in the Maine state legislature as a Jacksonian Democrat. He remained there for five years, functioning as Speaker of the lower house for three of them. (5) While in the legislature, he gained an impressive reputation around Maine for "a quick tongue and an even quicker mind," (6) but decided to move on in 1840.

Hamlin first ran for a seat in Congress in 1841. The Democrats were immensely unpopular in that year's elections, and he was soundly defeated. After spending the next few years building a stronger political base, Hamlin ran again in 1843. This time he was successful. [7] He went on to serve two consecutive terms in the House, establishing himself as one of the Free Soil Democrat's most convincing leaders in the fight against the spread of slavery. Because of a tradition in his home district of limiting a Representative to two consecutive terms, he did not seek re-election in 1848. [8]

Instead, Hamlin decided to attempt a move into the Senate. Again, he was defeated in the first election, but an incumbent died unexpectedly and Hamlin was appointed to the Senate in July of 1848. In 1850 he was successfully elected to a full term. [9] While in the House of Representatives, Hamlin had enjoyed engaging in numerous floor debates. He drastically changed that policy once in the Senate. He debated only on topics he felt very strongly about and stated that he preferred to be a "working rather than talking Senator." [10]

In 1856, while in the Senate, Hamlin made a dramatic party change. The Democratic national convention had endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and pledged not to interfere with the spread of slavery into the territories. [11] This blatant support of slavery by his own beloved Democratic party was immensely troubling to Hamlin. He had been contemplating a switch to the fledgling Republican party since its rise to respectability in the elections of 1854, and he took this occasion to adopt it as his own. [12] In one of the finest speeches of his political career, Hamlin rose in the Senate and denounced the slavery policies of his old party and announced his intention to join the Republican party. At first glance, it seems as if Hamlin was indecisive about his party loyalties, but one must realize that he never changed or compromised his views. In those tremendously volatile times, the parties were constantly changing platforms. He simply moved to the party that best matched his philosophies.

The ever-widening sectional split in the country during the late 1850's gave the Republicans, and Hamlin, a great deal of hope for the upcoming presidential election. [13] The Republicans realized that the divisions within the Democratic party over the slavery issue had opened the door to the Presidency. Hamlin, aware of the extreme importance of selecting the right candidate, threw his support to Lincoln. (14) He had a greater fear, though, that the nomination would go to William H. Seward. He personally liked Seward and supported most of his views, but he realized that "Higher Law" Seward was far too controversial to ever win the presidential election. (15) On the day of the balloting, Hamlin wrote his wife, saying, "Today I presume Seward will be nominated at Chicago. If so we must make the best of it tho I am sure a much wiser nomination could be made." (16) Hamlin was extremely surprised and pleased when he learned that Lincoln had gained the nomination. (17)

Hamlin was not interested in being a candidate for the vice-presidential nomination. He even went so far as to instruct his friends not to place him on the ticket at the convention, "a pledge they cheerfully ignored when their chance came." (18) Since Seward had narrowly lost the nomination, his state, New York, was given the consolation prize of nominating the candidate for the vice-presidency. Seward declared that there was no man from New York suited for the post, but he would maintain the right to approve or reject any person aspiring to the nomination. (19) Disregarding their leader's orders, the contingent from Maine saw an opportunity to push for Hamlin and quickly did so. They consulted with the leaders of nearly every state and succeeded in convincing many of them that Hamlin was the right man for the job. The favorite of the multitudes at the convention was Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, but Hamlin's friends had persuaded the leaders that their man fit the job perfectly. (20) Hamlin was nominated in a virtual landslide.

The nominations of both Lincoln and Hamlin can be considered "triumphs of availability." (21) Hamlin had maintained a strong friendship with Seward, and it came to be that Seward controlled his nomination. He was also

> "geographically distant from Lincoln and was once a Democrat. It seemed judicious to pretend to patronize the Democratic element, and thus conciliate those who were calling the convention an 'old Whig concern.'" (22)

There were those who felt that the Republican party was simply a radical group of malcontent Whigs. The appearance of an ex-Democrat on the Republican Presidential ticket would help change this. Hamlin also had a consistently strong view against slavery expansion--the most volatile political issue of the time. All of these aspects, along with the tremendous politicking of the Maine delegates, led to his nomination and eventual election. (23)

Hamlin was not elated to hear of his nomination, but he realized that

> "to decline would be to give the Democrats powerful ammunition to use against the Republican party. They would sneer that Hamlin was afraid to run with such poor prospects of success." (24)

He, reluctantly, accepted the nomination saying, "I neither expected or desired it. But it has been made and as a faithful man, it leaves me no alternative but to accept it." (25)

Surprisingly, Hamlin had never met Lincoln before his nomination. (26) Once nominated, however, he met with Lincoln to discuss their goals in the election and policy towards the secession. (27) Throughout the campaign and term, Lincoln and Hamlin maintained a cordial relationship. Although he rarely took his Vice-President's advice, Lincoln made it a point to, at least occasionally, consult Hamlin on important issues. (28)

On the whole, Hamlin's four years as Vice-President were forgettable. He presided over the Senate, as President, but had no vote. He was troubled throughout his term that he could not vote on the multitude of extremely important issues that came before the Senate during the War. (29) He felt neglected by President Lincoln, the Cabinet, and all of Congress. (30) As Vice-President he had no votes on any issues and was strictly in a consulting position, but no one was eager to consult with him. He, perhaps accurately, considered the Vice-

President the "most unimportant man in Washington," (31) and described the office as a "fifth wheel on a coach." (32)

1860 and 1864 were two dramatically different times and called for two equally different vice-presidential candidates. In 1860, Hamlin's name on the ticket had been necessary to grant legitimacy to the Republican party and unite the East and the West. By 1864, the Republican party's needs had changed as the course of the Civil War had changed.

For the Republican convention in 1864, the party had temporarily changed its name to the National Union Party in order to attract War Democrats "who would flinch at the name Republican." (33) This attempt to present a Union Party image appeared to require the nomination of a former War Democrat from a Southern state. (34) The governor of Tennessee, Andrew Johnson, seemed to fill these requirements. The opinion supported by the party heads was that "the colorless incumbent Hannibal Hamlin would add not strength to the ticket." (35) Although the exact details of Lincoln's role in the nomination remain mysterious, it appears that he favored Johnson. "After a series of backstairs maneuvers whose details remain obscure, Johnson received the nomination on the first ballot." (36)

This dramatic and unexpected series of events left Hamlin crushed and disenchanted with political life. He came to believe "that almost everyone, with whom he had anything to do in Washington, had played him false." (37) Although Lincoln appeared to be bothered by the ungracious treatment accorded his partner of the previous four years, he himself may have been largely responsible. In an attempt to make up for the lost office, Lincoln arranged for Hamlin to start a new job as Collector of the Port of Boston. Hamlin accepted this lucrative position, but later resigned in protest of Johnson's reconstruction policies. (38) Disgruntled with public life, Hamlin retired to his Maine farm where he died in 1891.

According to the Constitution, the Vice-President has only one important function--to take over the Presidency in the event of death, impeachment, or resignation. Qualifications for this duty, however, are rarely an issue in the nomination of a Vice-President. Hannibal Hamlin was chosen in 1860 because he met a series of criteria that were popular with the voters and the party leaders. He was dismissed in 1864 because the country had changed drastically and he no longer represented the ideal candidate. His policies had not changed, nor had he done anything to discredit himself while in office. His unceremonial removal from the ticket was made strictly to improve Lincoln's odds in the upcoming election. Hamlin may have been correct when he stated that as a Vice-President he was "a fifth wheel on a coach," but as a vice-presidential candidate, he would have to be equated to one of the horses pulling the coach. Lincoln and the other Republican party leaders seemed to realize the true role of a Vice-President--securing the election of the Presidential candidate. They selected their candidates accordingly.

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LINCOLN AND HIS VICE-PRESIDENTS:

REFLECTED GREATNESS

By STEPHANI DAWN RUZICKA

Stephani Dawn Ruzicka was a student at Roncalli High School in Indianapolis, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Kathleen Damon.

The Vice-President of the United States is essentially a powerless member of the Executive branch with primarily legislative duties and with a "contingent remainder in the Presidency," that contingency being the death of the President. (1) The President always has it in his power to raise the position of his Vice-President by bestowing significant post and authority on him. Few chief executives, however, have chosen to make more of the second ranking office in the federal government than the Founding Fathers made of it originally. (2) Abraham Lincoln was no exception. He seemed to have liked his Vice-Presidents, Hannibal Hamlin and Andrew Johnson, well enough personally, but gave them no important roles to play in policy-making.

Lincoln chose Hamlin and Johnson as his Vice-Presidents for two very different reasons. In the 1860 election, Hamlin was named as Lincoln's running mate in order to balance the national ticket. In the 1864 election, Lincoln was headed toward another kind of balance. He was looking for a man who would make his candidacy truly a Union one. It was clearly evident that "Hamlin's Civil War career would scarcely match Johnson's in color, danger, and sacrifice." (3) Therefore, Lincoln worked behind the scenes to shelve his former Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, and to bring out the leading War Democrat, Andrew Johnson. Both Vice-Presidents, despite their powerless roles, contributed to the success of Lincoln's two consecutive terms.

Speaker of the Maine House of Representatives, Congressman, United States Senator, Governor of Maine, Vice-President of the United States, Collector of the Port of Boston, and Minister to Spain: Hannibal Hamlin's titles resounded through much of nineteenth century America. (4) Hamlin started his political career in 1835 as a Jacksonian Democrat. Then, in 1856, Hamlin resigned from the Democratic party because of its position on slavery and, as a candidate of the newly organized Republicans, won the governorship of Maine by an overwhelming majority. He was a keen follower of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, as reported by the press, and was in agreement with Lincoln in all that he set forth.

With the approach of the 1860 Chicago convention, Hamlin was often mentioned as a possible candidate for the Presidency. This move he discouraged and, in turn, did all he could to throw all the attention to Lincoln, for Lincoln seemed best qualified as a candidate. This quiet campaigning had quite an impact on Maine, casting six of her sixteen votes for Lincoln on the first ballot. (5)

While Lincoln's nomination was clear to Hamlin, his own nomination as Vice-President came as a surprise to him and was largely brought about through the efforts of some of his associates in Washington. On the first ballot he received 194 votes and his nearest opponent, Clay, 101 1/2 votes. On the second ballot, Hamlin's total jumped to 367, and he was nominated. (6)

Lincoln had many different reasons for desiring Hannibal Hamlin as his partner in the 1860 presidential election. First, it was stated that "Mr. Hamlin was a good friend of Mr. Seward," and the Sewardites held the key to the Vice-Presidential nomination. (7) Second, Hamlin was named as Lincoln's running mate because the national ticket needed to be balanced. Since Lincoln was of the North West and an ex-Whig, Hamlin qualified since he was of New England and an ex-Democrat. (8) Finally, Hamlin had a superb record as a foe of slavery expansion. John A. Andrew summed it up perceptively: "Mr. Hamlin's nomination . . . was the most natural result conceivable, it came in the natural way." (9) The choice of

Hamlin as the Vice-Presidential nominee was popular with Republicans everywhere and was rightly regarded as making good political sense.

> Never was the candidate for the vice-presidency, of any party, nominated in a national convention, under more favorable auspices. Not one Republican can be found from Maine to Oregon who would desire any other result. (10)

In November, 1860, Hamlin received a letter from Lincoln asking for a conference with him in Chicago. On November 22, the two men met for the first time in the Tremont House and on the following day in the home of Judge Ebenezer Peck. (11) They talked over affairs relating to their joint administration. At this time, Lincoln invited Mr. Hamlin's opinion on the selection of the Cabinet and assured him he would have the privilege of selecting the New England member. Lincoln then supplied him with a list of four capable candidates and reminded him: "I need a man of Democratic antecedents from New England." (12)

After giving it considerable though, Hamlin chose Gideon Welles. Hamlin's choice was restricted, but the very fact that he could make that choice indicated Lincoln's high degree of trust in him. As the President-elect assured him, "I shall accept, and thus shall always be willing to accept, in the very best spirit, any advice that you, the Vice-President, may give me." (13) Their relationship was off to an excellent start.

After he learned of the nomination, Hamlin pointed out that his duties would be neither "hard or unpleasant." Hamlin spoke confidentially about taking on the task of the Vice-Presidency in his inauguration speech. He then repeated after former Vice-President Breckinridge; "I Hannibal Hamlin, do solemnly swear to support the Constitution of the United States." (14) The inauguration of the Vice-President, as usual, preceded that of the President, upon which Mr. Hamlin immediately called the Senate together for the special session, at which the President was inaugurated.

From the start of his term in office, Hamlin found himself in the uncomfortable position of having surrendered an office of great inherent power for one with no power whatsoever. It is clear that he would rather have been a Senator with a vote and offices to distribute, than President of the Senate without a vote and with little patronage. He later conceived his role to be that of a soldier under his Commander-in-Chief's orders. (15)

The coming of war roused Hamlin's fighting instincts, however, and he became increasingly unhappy in the role of a "dignified but inactive witness to the rush of events." (16) His first real taste of Vice-Presidential powerlessness came when Lincoln failed to supply him with authority or something useful and significant to do. Instead, all that came was a request for the kind of information which almost anyone could have supplied. Hamlin wondered what the future would have in store for him in his dealings with the Chief Executive.

There is ample evidence that Vice-President Hamlin felt neglected during his four-year term and that his powerless role frustrated him. For example, he pointed out to many of his friends that he was "the most unimportant man in Washington; ignored by the President, the Cabinet, and the Congress." Then, when a friend asked him to lunch one day, Hamlin replied, "I will take lunch with you on condition that you never be Vice-President. I am only a fifth wheel of a coach and can do little for my friends." (17) In an interview some years after the war, Hamlin continued to describe a Vice-President as a "contingent somebody to whom the President never gives way in the least."

The high point of Hamlin's Vice-Presidency came early. One day in mid-June of 1862, Hamlin was invited to Lincoln's cottage where Lincoln revealed, for the first time, his Emancipation Proclamation. He said, "Hamlin, you have often urged me to issue a proclamation of emancipation. I have it here and you will be the first person to see it." (19) He asked Hamlin to make suggestions and corrections as he went along. The Vice-President heard the proclamation through and then suggested three changes, two of which Lincoln made. Hamlin felt honored to be the first man to hear the Proclamation read.

During the two years that followed, Hamlin became increasingly bored with his task of presiding over the Senate and often returned home to Maine. With little else to do, Vice-President Hamlin was persistent in gaining federal patronage for his home state and supporters. His requests sometimes annoyed Lincoln, but the President usually went along. It became clear that "only the death of Lincoln could transport this nineteenth century Vice-President from his wanderings in the desert of anonymity to the lush green fields of power." (20)

As 1864 approached, the President became increasingly skeptical about his running mate. Hamlin was expendable. By his own admission, Hamlin had not become a particularly significant or valued member of the Lincoln administration. Hamlin came from a relatively unimportant state in a safely Republican area and, as Gideon Welles suggested, had limited strength even in New England and outside the borders of Maine. (21) Hamlin was a former Democrat, not a War Democrat whose presence on the ticket could rally Democratic support to the Union party. This, in effect, caused Lincoln to look elsewhere for a new running mate that would bring more votes and help him get re-elected.

Lincoln's great aim in 1864 was to "bind up the wounds of war" and reunite the nation. For this purpose, Lincoln believed a border state man would be far better than an irreconcilable Maine anti-slavery spokesman. Lincoln then turned his thoughts toward a more promising Vice-Presidential candidate--the courageous military governor of Tennessee, Andrew Johnson. Lincoln praised the War Democrat's "nobility of patriotism and his methods of rehabilitating Tennessee." (22)

Andrew Johnson was self-educated and a man of "dogged strength and perseverance."

A spokesman for laborers and small farmers, Johnson opposed the slave-holding aristocracy. From the age of twenty-four, he was almost continuously in one local office or another; he was elected to Congress when he was thirty-five, state governor ten years later, and senator in 1857. Johnson's major political interest was free land in the West for laborers. On the slavery issue he was Unionist in sentiment. When the Civil War broke out, Johnson was the only Southerner in the Senate not to resign his seat. (23)

Lincoln explained he wanted Johnson on his side because, first of all, Johnson was the most outstanding and aggressive War Democrat in the Union, "the one who had risked most for the cause." (24) Also, the nomination of a Southern Unionist would go a long way towards preventing recognition of the Confederacy by England and France. Finally, the selection of a Southerner for a Vice-President from a reconstructed Confederate state would prove that the preservation of the Union was anything but a lost cause. (25)

So, in order to avoid giving offense to the New England states and especially Hamlin himself, Lincoln "pulled strings from behind the scenes" to get Johnson nominated. Lincoln's strategy throughout the campaign involved an outward show of strict neutrality coupled with secret efforts to help carry the day for Johnson through the agency of picked men at the Baltimore convention. Lincoln knew that to publicly advocate Hamlin's removal from the Vice-Presidency would be to arouse the wrath of Hamlin's New England supporters who believed, as did Hamlin himself, that the President favored him but had to remain neutral. (26)

The national convention of the Union Party met in Baltimore, on June 7, 1864. Lincoln was nominated immediately to run for re-election as the party's candidate for President. But, when the delegates turned their attention to nominating a candidate for Vice-President, things went less smoothly. In the end, Andrew Johnson received all but twenty-six votes for the nomination and became the Union Party's candidate for Vice-President. (27)

The Democrats chose their candidate for President, General George B. McClellan, who charged that the war had gone on too long and proposed to end the bloodshed by negotiating a peace with the Confederates. The Democrats also put forth their best candidate for Vice-President to run against Johnson. But, despite their efforts, on November 8, 1864, Lincoln was re-elected President and Andrew Johnson was elected Vice-President.

On the morning of March 4, 1865, Johnson was escorted by Hamlin to the Senate where he was scheduled to take the oath of office. Johnson was ill and had accepted a drink of whiskey from Hamlin as a quick remedy before entering the Senate Chamber. Since Johnson was still suffering from malaria and had eaten little or nothing for days, the liquor went to his head. After taking the oath of office, Johnson made a rambling speech that lasted for almost twenty minutes, and frequently slurred his words. Many of his listeners were outraged, and Johnson instantly acquired, and never lost, a reputation as a drunkard. (28)

By contrast, Lincoln's inauguration outside the Capitol Building was dignified and well praised. The words he spoke became some of the best remembered words of American history:

> With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations. (29)

Though Lincoln must have been embarrassed by his new Vice-President's behavior on such an important day, later he said, "Oh well, don't you bother about Andy Johnson's drinking. He made a bad slip the other day, but I have known Andy a great many years and he ain't no drunkard." And to think, reported the New York World, "that one frail life stands between this insolent, clownish creature and the Presidency! May God bless and spare

Abraham Lincoln!" (30) The reporters could not have guessed how tragically timely their words were.

Meanwhile, the fact that Lincoln shelved Hamlin in the 1864 election meant that Hamlin would soon be unemployed. Lincoln hoped that Hamlin would be chosen by the legislature of Maine to fill Fessenden's vacated Senate seat, but Fessenden revolted and would not have it. Lincoln was bothered about the ungracious treatment toward the man who had served for four years as Vice-President with him. Lincoln thought he could make it up to Hamlin by making him the Collector of the Port of Boston. To do this, he had to retire Collector John Z. Goodrich from his job. Goodrich told Lincoln, "I will do so because there is no man living I would sooner relieve from embarrassment than yourself." (31)

Before further developments occurred in the special case of Hamlin, Lincoln was assassinated. Hamlin mourned Lincoln's death, as though he had lost his best friend. Johnson appeared grief stricken, but calm and self-possessed.

> And thus in the circumstances as sudden and portentous as those surrounding the Johnson succession in April 1865 did the change of President through death occur. (32)

At ten o'clock, Andrew Johnson -- Vice-President for only forty-one days -- was sworn in as the seventeenth President of the United States.

Hannibal Hamlin and Andrew Johnson proved throughout their Vice-Presidencies that "to be Vice-President is clearly not to be anything more than a reflected greatness; he is waiting for someone to die and that is the all of it." (33) Despite this underlying truth, these two men carried out their duties as best they could. Hamlin will go down in history as having been linked with Lincoln in one of the most colorful political contests of all time. (34) Johnson, on the other hand, will be remembered as a result of the assassination that brought him to the Presidency.

Yet, for neither of these men was Lincoln's decision to reject or accept personal. Lincoln rejected Hamlin not because he hated him; Lincoln accepted Johnson not because he loved him. Lincoln's choice was guided by the belief that his decision would involve the destiny of the country itself. Everything Lincoln did was for the single purpose of reaching success, in preserving the Union, as nearly certain as possible. (35)

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NOT A LEGEND BUT A MAN

By CASSANDRA STRANDIN

Cassandra Strandin was a student at Muncie Central High School in Muncie, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was Janet Heath.

Abraham Lincoln, a quiet, compromising man and his Vice President, Andrew Johnson, a hot-headed, strong willed man, both believed in the Union of the United States. This belief is what brought the two men together. However, these two men of the United States struggled on their own separate paths before becoming the team which was to lead a country for a brief but crucial period in our nation's history. It is necessary to investigate these separate paths until they become one in order to understand how two such men were able to rise to the occasion of a country in turmoil.

Lincoln was born on February 12, 1809, in a log cabin near what is now the town of Hodgenville, Kentucky. He was born to the farmer Thomas Lincoln and his wife Nancy Hanks Lincoln. The Lincoln's daughter, Sarah, was born before Abraham. The small family tried to eke out a living in the rough country. Wanting better for his family, Thomas Lincoln packed up his small family and moved them to Indiana in 1816. By the time they had journeyed to Indiana and settled, eight-year-old Abraham was able to help his father. Abraham acquired farming skills quickly, seeming to enjoy his tasks with their immediate rewards.

Sadness overcame the Lincoln family when Nancy Hanks Lincoln died in 1818. A year after his mother's death, Abraham Lincoln was blessed with a new mother, Sarah Bush Johnson, who brought three children of her own to the Lincoln family.

Lincoln was not a man of great formal education, but he did have the great gift of the ability to educate himself; however, he did attend what they now call a "blab" school, a type of school where the children did everything orally, making a great deal of noise. Abraham is known for saying that if truth be told all he had acquired of a formal education would fit into one year. Of course, he did further his own mind, enriching his knowledge with such works as the Bible and The Life of Washington.

About 1830, Lincoln established himself as a storekeeper in New Salem, Illinois. Here he found himself quite popular locally and felt that he might try his hand at running for the state legislature. Just about that time, the Black Hawk War began and did not allow Lincoln to campaign sufficiently for the state legislature. Lincoln lost the race that year but was not disheartened and tried again in 1834. This time he was successful and was so popular he was elected three more times to the state legislature.

After this early political victory, Lincoln successfully became a lawyer. He rose to greater judicial and political heights by running for the Presidency in the election of 1860.

At this time it was known that Lincoln was a man who believed in the emancipation of slaves. He had stated as much when he was running for a seat in the Senate against Stephen A. Douglas. In fact, this belief led to his defeat by Douglas; but it had led him to victory in another aspect, for it allowed the country to realize the potential of Lincoln. This realized potential led to some factions so vehemently against Lincoln that they seceded from the Union when Lincoln won the election of 1860. Now, as President of the U.S., Lincoln had to try to come to grips with a nation that was greatly severed with brothers fighting against brothers. Lincoln did find some people who favored him, individuals and groups who were willing to work for the Union. One such man was Andrew Johnson, who was a Senator from Tennessee. [3]

Although sympathetic to the South and its institutions, Andrew Johnson felt an even greater loyalty to the Union. He showed his true colors as he spoke around Tennessee, trying to woo the people to the Union's side. He continued until the last ray of hope was snuffed out and Tennessee seceded in June of '61. Johnson had battled hard with words, making enemies among his statesmen. He even went so far as to risk his life for the Union, because the people were so angry. In fact, Johnson carried a hand pistol in his vest pocket at all times to guard himself from individuals who were filled with the mania of the secession of southern states. Now he had not only been defeated in his fight for Tennessee but was also left without a state. Johnson was forced to go to Washington, D.C. Here Lincoln assigned him to serve as commander of a military post in the part of Tennessee that had been reclaimed by the Union in 1862. Again, Andrew Johnson knew he was facing extremely difficult circumstances, but he was willing do anything in order to preserve the precious Union. In the end, the reward would come from none other than Lincoln himself. [5]

This is where Lincoln joins Johnson in his political career. This is where the two men's paths were to intertwine for a brief time to form one path for the good of a country bleeding from the Civil War.

Johnson, "the man of good intentions," began his path in 1808 on December 29th. He was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, to Jacob and Polly Johnson. His father was a porter and handyman at an inn in the village but did not make much in the way of an income. Like Lincoln, Johnson lost a parent, but it was Johnson's father, Jacob. Jacob Johnson died when Andrew was a mere three-years-old, but he died a hero. Jacob rescued two drowning men out of a frigid river. After the rescue his body could not endure the cold that had overcome him. Thus, he perished, leaving behind two sons, William and Andrew, as well as his wife, Polly. Polly, a woman who tried to make a living for her little family, could not scrounge together much for her labor. Polly Johnson wove cloth for individuals in the neighborhood but did not strike up a fruitful business.

Since the family was not well to do, at the age of 14, Andrew Johnson was sent out to be apprenticed to a tailor. Johnson easily learned the trade, but soon became quite sure of himself, almost cocky, wanting to create a little shop of his own. In pursuit of this endeavor Johnson ran away. Of course, he did return to his family, for when he was 18-years of age, he and the other members of his family moved to Greenville, Tennessee.

At long last, the extremely strong-willed Johnson fulfilled his wish to own a tailor shop of his own. This shop, that had been one of his highest aspirations at the time, helped him become aware of his political potential through ordinary talk with his customers and young men of the surrounding area. Like Lincoln, Johnson learned of politics and his desire to truly pursue it by becoming part of the business world. Unlike his counterpart, however, Johnson did not learn to write until he married Eliza McCandle. Previous to that time in his life he had read a bit, but education had not been one of his greatest ambitions.

After realizing his potential in politics, Johnson commenced his career in politics by becoming an alderman at twenty-one. Next, he went on to hold the office of mayor, and at the age of twenty-seven he had been elected to the state legislature. Johnson then went on to be elected governor of the State of Tennessee in 1852. By the time the Civil War broke out, he was, of course, in the Senate, and had been since 1857.[5]

Now, we have come to the point where the two paths intertwine. As has been previously stated, Johnson was to risk his life by becoming the military commander of the portion of Tennessee that had been reclaimed by the Union. His reward for this bravery was the Vice-Presidency.

In June of 1864 the Republican party managers were gathering together to make the ballot for the Presidential election. The party had a strong desire to have War Democrats on the ticket to try to gain a wide variety of voters. They found such a man in Andrew Johnson. Johnson was thus the running mate for Abraham Lincoln, the man who was running for a second term after a tempestuous first.[6]

The weather on the Inaugural Day seemed to fit well, for it was a torrential downpour, much like the outpouring of blood that was still occurring in the Civil War. Rain was playing havoc with the unpaved streets, allowing mud to gather up to ten inches in depth. People would then walk through the muddy water, tracking it onto the sidewalks where the crowds were forming. There was a great slime of mud everywhere. Although the weather was less than delightful, by ten o'clock on March 4, 1864, crowds of people in festive spirits were out in their best velvets and laces to see the President and his new Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, lead the Inaugural parade in a carriage. Pamphlets praising the new team were passed among the crowd members as the team rolled by.

The first event of the Inaugural Day was to happen in the Senate Chamber at noon, with Solomon Foot from Vermont having the honor of administering the oath of the Vice-President. In the galleries sat the people of no governmental office. Along with this group sat Mary Todd Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln's wife. Below the gallery sat the members of the Diplomatic Corps, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, and the members of both the House and Senate. The President himself sat in the front row of the Chamber. Thus, this was the setting before Andrew Johnson was led into the Chamber.

Johnson had been suffering from typhoid fever prior to the Inaugural Day. In order to help him through the proceeding, his friends advised him to take a little whiskey. Unfortunately, he took a bit too much of the spirits. Johnson then found himself bumbling around in a drunken dream as he addressed the Chamber with his Inaugural speech, having been introduced by the former Vice-President, Hannibal Hamlin. How embarrassing indeed to then take the oath of one of the most sacred offices under the influence of alcohol. However degrading, Lincoln continued the program by delivering a speech to his people outside of the Chamber. Perhaps it was more than just coincidence that when this great man read his speech, the sun showed its brightest rays from behind the gray, dismal rain clouds. The sunshine seemed to coincide with not only the greatness of the individual, but the turn in the Inaugural events.

Now the two paths were entwined for a short term with Lincoln at the lead and Andrew Johnson at his side. However, their paths were not long together before they were shot apart by the bullet of a cruel assassin.

It was April 14, 1865, and a Good Friday. The President and his wife were out enjoying an evening of entertainment at the Ford's Theatre. Little could they know that during their enjoyment a deranged man by the name of John Wilkes Booth was pulling together the last few items of what he thought to be the greatest gift he could give the nation. Booth felt that Lincoln was wrong in his attempts of governing the nation but especially on the topic of slavery. Soon Booth's plan came to its culmination as the actor stealthily made his way up to the box where the President and his wife were seated. Booth let himself into the box, waited for one of the most noisey moments and then pulled the trigger of his gun, just five feet away from the President. The President had been shot in the brain on the evening of the fourteenth and never again woke, but instead died the next morning. This bullet severed the two paths, leaving Andrew Johnson to heal a worn, torn country by himself. [2]

Andrew Johnson was quickly administered the oath of the Presidency. Everyone was curious to see how a man of Johnson's harsh personality and strict southern background would handle the country in a crisis. It was wondered how this man would again build up what had been a glorious South, but now was merely a ruin of homes, properties, and lives. The once wealthy planters were now to be dealt the cruel hand of poverty and the blacks had been given the blessing of freedom. How was Johnson to bring together a country that had been riven by hatred and ignorance?

To begin the period called the Reconstruction, Johnson first had to deliberate about the matter that was still at hand right at Lincoln's death. The matter dealt with how the southern states were to be readmitted. Lincoln had drawn up the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction in the last eighteen months of his life. It stated that all Confederates could be pardoned, except those who had held high office or rank in the Confederate government or army. Lincoln also stated that a small part of the voters of 1860, ten percent, had to take an oath of future loyalty to the Union. This was a lenient document indeed, and it was expected that Johnson would lower the boom on the southerners who had rebelled against their country.

Johnson surprised everyone when he drew up a document that was also easy on the rebel states, creating a document much like Lincoln's. It seemed to be that since he was a southerner in heritage, he sympathized with the rebel faction. His sympathy, however, led him into friction with Congress, just as it had Lincoln.

Congress wanted to make the laws for the Confederate states, feeling that it was not the President's duty. They thus made the Wade-Davis bill, long before Lincoln's death in 1864. This bill did not resolve the proceedings dealing with the Reconstruction, so that Johnson was left to "clean up" the situation.

To begin the "clean up", Johnson issued, on the same day of his document that conflicted with Congress, a proclamation for North Carolina. It included requirements that demanded no specific numbers of the voting population, only a portion, that had to be loyal. In the next six weeks Johnson continued to issue six more such proclamations which were issued to other Confederate states.

Johnson had tried to be fair, but the southern states took advantage of their new

President and made up governments that followed their own criteria after meeting the President's lenient standards. Johnson had required that the Confederate states void all laws of the secession and immediately cease the paying of bonds that had been useful in raising money during the war. Also Johnson felt there should be the abolition of slavery.

The Confederates took these standards and went as far as they had to in order to be above suspicion, but they enforced other laws that were corrupt. One such law was allowing Confederates of high rank to serve as leaders in the governing of the South. Another was a law that did not permit the blacks to vote. On the last note, Johnson could understand the South's apprehension. Both he and Lincoln knew that many members of the black population were illiterate and that black suffrage would be a freedom that would be granted with time. Under the corrupt Confederate governments yet another awful aspect crept up to take root in the southern society. These were the Black Codes which really were no more than a new legal name for slavery. [1]

To say the least, the Black Codes were limiting on the newly freed black population. They gave very few rights, like the right to sue or be sued, and the right to buy, sell, and inherit land. However, there were more rules contained within these codes that restricted the blacks. The blacks were not to break a contract, quit a job or become unemployed, for they would then be considered vagrants. Thus, they would often be punished for these so-called crimes with fines and arrest that often led to the working of a sentence on a white plantation. Segregation abounded under these Black Codes and blacks were forced to carry, at all times, a license that showed their workplace and living space.

In response to the evils that had been set under Johnson's weak proclamations, Thaddeus Stevens, leader of the Radical Republicans in Congress, was enraged. He felt that the blacks should be given land and the vote. He also felt that the rebellious southerners should pay for their wrongdoings by giving up great portions of their property. This, of course, led to great battles between Johnson and the United States Congress. It also led to embarrassment for Congress would not allow the newly elected members under the Confederate government to serve.

The first of the big disagreements came when Johnson vetoed the Freedmen's Bureau bill. This was a bill that fulfilled the blacks right to aid in medicines, education, and such, but it also put disputes into the hands of military courts. This was a piece of controversy between the President and his Congress who had drawn up the bill, for the bill seemed to violate the right to trial by jury. Although Johnson was against the bill, it passed because of Congressional maneuvers that overrode it. In fact, the bill was a law in some capacity for several years, from March 3, 1863, until 1872.

The next wave of the "war" between the President and his Congress came when the Radical Republicans wanted to shape the Reconstruction their own way. To do this, they drew up the Fourteenth Amendment. In this amendment's first section, it stated that American citizenship included the black population and it protected their rights as equals. The second section dealt with the seating of members in the Congress if the states did not allow for Black Suffrage. The third section slammed the door in the faces of those Confederates who wished to hold office. Finally, the fourth section stated that for anyone to pay a Confederate debt or pay money for a former slave was unconstitutional. Johnson vetoed the bill but Congress again went above him, ratifying it in 1868.

Conflicts continued to fester between Andrew Johnson and the Congress. Johnson was able to sympathize with his fellow southerners and believed that the southerners should be permitted to deal with their situation in their own way, for he was a staunch believer in states' rights. On the other hand, Congress wanted the power of the aristocracy in the South ended and the blacks given their rights in full, including suffrage. Also, Congress was gaining power in its leadership at this period, for it was at this time that the Reconstruction Acts were introduced.

The Reconstruction Acts dealt with the splitting of the remaining Confederate territory that had not yet been readmitted under proper terms, into five districts that were to be under strict military control. The districts would be headed by an army officer who would lead troops to keep people in order. Once the states had once again accepted the Constitution and ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, they could then gain their right to be part of the glorious Union. These requirements were stiff enough for many of the states, and by the summer of 1868, seven states were reunited with the rest of the Union. Then by 1870, Virginia, Texas, Georgia, and Mississippi, the last of the states, were ready to join the Union at long last. It seemed to be a great triumph, but now that the blacks held any office at all, some of the white southerners took the government into their own hands and became part of one of the worst societies created, the Ku Klux Klan. This society created mayhem in states that were recuperating from being torn apart, and yet this society was willing to keep ripping the wounds open again by beating, whipping, and lynching blacks. Also they were known for other atrocities, such as the burning of homes.

With all these events happening, the "Great War" between Johnson and his Congress reached its climax with the Tenure of Office Act, which stated that the President was not permitted to dismiss a member of his Cabinet or other various lower offices without approval of the Senate. In 1868, Johnson dismissed Edwin Stanton, the Secretary of War, for he felt him too "friendly" with Congress. The House took the next move by issuing the announcement of Johnson's impeachment. The case was then tried in the Senate, but it was not effective, for the vote was short by one vote of the two-thirds majority. It was also found later that the act did not hold true for a member of a previous President's administration. [1]

With the tide of hate subsiding somewhat, Johnson rode out the remainder of his term fairly quietly. He was not re-elected, as Grant became the next President. Johnson did, however, seek further public office, which he did attain in the Senatorial race. [2] He only served one session before having a stroke and died on July 3, 1875. [1] The former President died at the age of 66, but without the great parade of mourners that had followed Lincoln to his departure for burial in Springfield at the crowded railway station. [3]

In retrospect, the historians look on Johnson as an unsuccessful President, for although he led the country out of the Reconstruction period, he failed to truly comprehend the blending of the North and South. To have had this knowledge, Johnson would have had to have more of the compromising spirit of his predecessor and less of his hot-headed temper. However, it was understandable that Johnson became angry, for he had been thrown into the Presidency and only wanted to do what was best but was battered by Congress. [5]

While the paths of these great men, Lincoln and Johnson, seemed to divide at Lincoln's death, perhaps this is not completely true. Perhaps Lincoln always lingered in the shadows while the forced-to-be-President Johnson went through the motions of the Presidency. Maybe Johnson was a lot like Lincoln where the original "brain child," the preservation of the Union was concerned, but he lost momentum because of his stubbornness and narrow minded way of looking at matters. Yes, the two paths diverged, Lincoln taking the one less traveled by, leaving Johnson to take the path that had been worn down by many a traveler's well tattered soles. [4]

Lincoln and Johnson were two united men,
Until a bullet led Johnson to be alone once again.

Johnson battled a war by himself
With reward to the wealth of self.

Accused of being a traitor by the House,
His reputation was reduced to the popularity of a diseased mouse.

Although he had strived to bandage the wounds of a nation,
He soon left it in the hand of a worthy God for mediation.

Johnson was a man of circumstance who probably wanted to follow in the admirable footsteps of Abraham Lincoln. How does anyone live up to a man who has become a legend? Unfortunately for our nation, we never say the way the legend would have dealt with the mending of our wounds. Instead, we were left with a man who was full of stubbornness and willing to stand up for his beliefs. As a nation, we need not to look at what could have been with Lincoln, but look to his running mate for what he did. I think it was quite fortunate that Johnson was able to carry on at all after such a terrible death of a fellow leader and we must not look to the legend that over-shadowed Johnson, but to the man Johnson was. We must look to the man, for he is like many of us, the one who has been forced to walk the path that has already been taken [4] - the path of the common man.

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THE JOURNAL OF EMILY HARRIS

By KARESA UNDERWOOD

Karesa Underwood was a student at William Henry Harrison High School in Evansville, Indiana, when she submitted this winning paper. Her teacher was William Bartelt.

August 5, 1869

Dearest Father,

Now that it has been several months since President Johnson was in office. I feel I am free to confess my sin. I do not feel remorse for what I have done for I have gained much insight and the courage to speak my opinion in front of others. Following the induction of Mr. Abraham Lincoln into the Presidential office in 1861, as you well know my dear father, you began a personal journal concerning the affairs of the White House, especially those of Mr. Lincoln and his Vice-President Mr. Andrew Johnson. This journal, I realize, was to be secret and assuredly not for the eyes of a young miss such as myself; however, as I was looking for an ink well on your desk, I accidentally knocked the desk over. I somehow managed to pick it up (it was quite heavy, I assure you) and the top drawer was ajar. Well, sir, my confession is: I began to read your journal and became so interested in the happenings of the White House which concerned Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Johnson, that throughout the making of your journal I continually sneaked into your private quarters to read your diary. I promise you the information I have read will not be known by others during either of our lifetimes, for I do not know how or where you came upon these secretive White House occurrences and do not wish to speculate on their origin in fear that it may cause you severe anguish and trouble. I sincerely hope, my dearest father, that you can find it in your heart to forgive me, for time cannot be reversed and what sin has been committed cannot be redone.

Your loving daughter,

Emily Harris

Journal Entry for August 6, 1869:

Today, I went into Philadelphia to mail my confession to my dear father at his plantation in Charleston. I found it very difficult to confess to my papa about going behind his back and reading his personal journal, but I feel I have learned so very much about two intriguing men: Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Johnson. For my own record I have chosen to daily write in my journal the knowledge and insight I have gained from my sin.

Journal Entry for August 7, 1869:

Last night thoughts of what I was going to begin with (in my record of the information I had obtained indirectly through my father's journal) kept me from my beauty sleep. Although I now have dark circles beneath my eyes, I did decide what the first entry should concern. Through my father's entries, he had interwoven the personalities of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Johnson to the extent that if one were to read all the entries together, only then could the reader get a clear perception of the men. It was a struggle sneaking into Father's room and trying to piece together these strangers' personalities was even more challenging; therefore, I wished to include my full knowledge of their personalities in case someone in the future might read my journal. The personalities would then give the aforementioned reader a background before delving into the politics.

Both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Johnson were from families that would be considered (pardon my unlady-like comment) a touch - well, poor. In fact, neither boy was blessed with all the necessities of life, let alone any extras. This poverty, however, caused the two men to develop two very different personalities. Andrew Johnson came out of poverty with his fists up, fierce, independent and sometimes extremely rude. Lincoln, on the other hand, was strong-willed and independent, but was usually more silent in the fights for his convictions. (McKitrick, p.85) Also, Lincoln tended to communicate with others more easily than Johnson and he truly seemed to enjoy interactions, even with people who could not aid in his rise in politics. (McKirtrick, p. 86) Not only did their outward personalities differ, but their means of fulfilling their common goal was also different. "For Johnson, personal fulfillment had long since come to be defined as the fruit of the struggle - real, full-bodied, and terrible - against forces specifically organized for thwarting him." (McKitrick, p. 86) Mr. Lincoln always seemed to view personal fulfillment as the accomplishment of doing for the majority good, whether it meant struggle or not. Needless to say, the two men were very complex and different characters.

I realize that I am overstepping my boundaries as a young lady when I say that Mr. Johnson's often outspokenness and uncontrollable behavior (such as when he arrived at his Vice-Presidential inauguration consumed with the evils of liquor) in my opinion caused his later political problems. Currently, I must tend to my embroidery and the political history of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Johnson will have to be postponed until tomorrow.

Journal Entry for August 8, 1869:

After reading my father's journal, I discerned that the first substantial political interaction between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Johnson occurred during the first presidential term of Lincoln and while Johnson was the governor of Tennessee. As Lincoln's "right-hand man" in the southern state, Johnson laid the foundations for a Unionist government and authored a state constitution that ratified Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. (Oates, p. 369) These actions led Lincoln to take great confidence in Johnson's ability and loyalty to the Union. The President was overheard speaking to General Halleck on July 11, 1862, showing his respect for Johnson. "Governor Johnson...is a true and valuable man - to us in Tennessee." (Lincoln Encyclopedia, p. 167) However, this smooth interaction between Lincoln and Johnson soon began to resemble that of a wash-board avenue. Johnson admitted his main reason for endorsing the Emancipation Proclamation was not to recognize negroes but rather to strip the southern planters of any power. (Divine, p. 465) (My father was displeased, I assure you.) In fact, Andrew Johnson not only wanted to ignore negroes, he wished "every head of family in the United States had one slave to take the drudgery and menial service of his family." (Divine, p. 465) President Lincoln did not hold the same opinion. In fact, Lincoln wrote Governor Johnson on March 26, 1863, "The colored population is the great available and yet unavailed force for restoring the Union." (Lincoln Encyclopedia, p. 226) Also included in the letter was a response to Andrew Johnson's contemplation of raising a negro military force. Lincoln referred to the fact that it was surprising to hear the idea of such a militia from a slaveholder but agreed that: "The bare sight of 50,000 armed and drilled black soldiers upon the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebellion at once; and who doubts that we can present that sight if we but take hold in earnest." (Lincoln Encyclopedia, p. 226) I will conclude for this evening with the issue of slavery because it tries me so to discuss the topic which caused a month of silent treatment from my father after my having defended the rights of one of his slaves.

Journal Entry for August 10, 1869:

I did not write yesterday due to the pain I was caused by the remembrance of my disagreement with my dear father. It was a very painful experience occurring prior to his whipping of a slave in which I overstepped my place as a daughter of a plantation owner. But, this pain is irrelevant, for my main purpose of this journal is not to whimper about my mistakes but rather to record my knowledge of the relationship of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson.

In the election of 1864, Lincoln found himself in a demanding situation. In order to win the Presidency, Lincoln had to defeat the Army General George McClellan, whom the

Democrats had nominated to oppose the Republicans. Lincoln replaced the Republican party, following his creation of Union Leagues, with a new party known as the Union Party. (Newman, p. 241) The most important step on the road to the Presidency was the decision of a running mate. Lincoln did not make this decision, rather the Republican nominating convention did. Andrew Johnson was chosen due to his long record in politics, his being a pro-administration Democrat, and perhaps the sugar on top was the fact Johnson had proven himself to be a Southern Unionist. (Divine, p. 465) After growing up in South Carolina, I can understand why the Republicans valued this last characteristic of Johnson, because seldom did one come across a Unionist in the South. Propaganda for the campaign flooded the streets, stating they were the only candidates to represent the "rights of man and the unity of the republic." (Mitgang, p. 415) Campaigning aided in the victory of the Lincoln-Johnson ticket; however, the deciding factor was when Atlanta fell and the North seemed to be in control of the Civil War. Lincoln won by a small majority of the electoral votes and fifty-five percent of the popular vote. (Divine, pp. 452-453) President Lincoln and Vice-President Johnson would now call for an "unconditional surrender" of union opposers and try to pass a constitutional amendment to rid the United States of slavery. When asked his opinion of Andrew Johnson as Vice-President, "Lincoln said he was glad to have 'Andy' on board...". (Oates, p. 389)

The children need to be fed and put to bed, so I will have to continue tomorrow with more details of the relationship between the two Presidents of the Civil War.

Journal Entry for August 11, 1869:

This morning while eating breakfast I contemplated whether or not to record my knowledge of the Crittenden Compromise for it is minimal. I decided, however, that it should at least be mentioned in my journal because of the different sides that President Lincoln and

Mr. Johnson took upon its proposal.

The proposal submitted by Senator John Crittenden of Kentucky called for the Missouri Comprise line to be extended to the Pacific, compensation by the federal government to slaveholders regarding escaped slaves, and an amendment to the Constitution stating that the federal government cannot abolish or regulate slavery in the states. (Divine, p. 429) My father and other Southerners viewed this plan as a good compromise and the Republicans leaned toward giving some ground and voting in favor of the compromise. Not sure of the degree to which they should support the Republican Party position that slavery should be outlawed, they turned to seek the opinion of President Lincoln. He was wholeheartedly opposed and believed "the only way to resolve the crisis over the future of slavery and to reunite 'the house divided' was to remove any chance that slaveholders could enlarge their domain." (Divine, p. 430) Andrew Johnson, in contrast, supported the compromise and went out of his way to attempt to get the Crittenden Plan passed.

> "While the vote was being taken Andrew Johnson, wrung with anxiety, hastened quietly to the side of Judah P. Benjamin, and whispered to him with tense earnestness: 'Mr. Benjamin, vote! Let us save this proposition and see if we cannot bring the country to it. Vote, and show yourself an honest man.'" (Nevins, p. 100)

Despite Johnson's efforts to compromise and keep the Union together, at least for a short time, the Crittenden Compromise was voted down. Although I know it to be false, I sometimes try to convince myself that if Lincoln had not convinced the Republicans to vote against the compromise, then perhaps there would not have been a war and my brother would still be alive.

Journal Entry for August 12, 1869:

The most shocking of all the entries I read in my father's journal was the one following the assassination of President Lincoln. I had read of his death in the newspapers and had, of course, heard plenty of gossip concerning who murdered the President, but the entry shed new light on a situation of which I was not aware. Vice President Andrew Johnson had been accused. Although an accusation was the extent of the suspicion, a few things led me to question whether or not he was capable of assassinating the President. Beside the death-bed of Lincoln, Johnson was supposedly drunk, unshaven, and essentially torn up by what had occurred. This could be that he was a part of the murder or merely devastated by the assassination. (Hanchett, p. 118) Intrigued, I continued to read my father's journal. My suspicions of Mr. Johnson's guilt were soon put to an end. There had been a death threat against Johnson also as a large conspiracy led by John Wilkes Booth to rid the White House of some of its top leaders.

> "On the evening of the 14th of April, I (Atzerodt) met Booth and Payne at the Herndon House at eight o'clock. Booth said he himself should murder Lincoln and General grant, Payne should take Mr. Seward and I (Atzerodt) should take Mr. Johnson." (Borreson, p. 147)

Upon hearing of this conspiracy, Johnson quickly tried those accused. I do not believe Johnson assassinated Lincoln; however, I wish to close with a quote I found in Father's journal.

> "The character of Mr. Johnson shows more clearly why these people were summarily hanged. His obstinacy and self-will when opposed by appeals for mercy or magnanimity of sentiment carried him to the opposite extreme of rigor. The suspicion that he might have been one of them made him hasten to show by severity that his hands were clean." (Borreson, p. 205)

Journal Entry for August 13, 1869;

Now I feel it is wise to reveal the plans of both Mr. Abraham Lincoln and Mr. Andrew Johnson concerning the Reconstruction; for if one day in the future, the South remains in the dregs of society and my ancestors wish to know what was attempted but failed, they will be able to find at least a few answers. It, however, is my hope that this section of my journal will not be of interest to my future relatives because I pray that one day the South will once again be prosperous.

Following the Civil War and prior to the President's assassination, Mr. Lincoln issued a Reconstruction Plan. Comparing the North and South to "erring sisters," it appears Lincoln believed the South had never actually left the Union and he was eager to reunite the two sides, despite the Democratic Party. A main component of his plan was known as the Ten Percent Plan. All southerners would be pardoned after taking an oath of loyalty to the Union (this did not include Confederate War leaders) and southern states that contained ten percent of voters in 1860 were allowed to the take oath, rejoin the Union and write new state constitutions. Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee had accomplished the Ten Percent Plan when Congress outwardly rejected the plan and the South. (Boyer, p. 529)

Congress was insulted by Lincoln's plan and retaliated with passing the Wade-Davis Bill. The bill included four main points. First, the South had left the Union on its own free will and deserved punishment. Second, the majority of white males in any southern state had to take the oath stated in Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan and then the state would be allowed to rejoin the Union. Next, the bill indirectly discriminated against blacks and southern leaders. Finally, it called for provisional governors. (Boyer, p. 530)

> "Lincoln exercised a pocket veto by refusing to sign the bill before Congress adjourned. He justified his action by announcing that he did not wish to be committed to any single reconstruction plan." (Divine, p. 464)

Before Lincoln and Congress could become too involved in arguments over Reconstruction, Lincoln was assassinated. It now became Andrew Johnson's fight. At first, Johnson was welcomed by Radical Republicans because it seemed as if Johnson would punish the "traitors" and prevent them from gaining any political influence. (Divine, p. 465) Johnson, however, did not attempt radical changes. Mostly, he focused on what had already been suggested by Lincoln, with a few changes. All southern states had to repeal the Ordinance of Secession, abolish slavery, and all debts would be abolished. Mr. Johnson believed that the rebels were individuals, not states, and that there should not be an oath percentage.

> "Johnson placed North Carolina and eventually other states under appointed provisional governors chosen mostly from among prominent southern politicians who had opposed the secession movement and had rendered no conspicuous service to the confederacy...To regain their political and property rights, those in the exempted categories had to apply for individual presidential pardons. Johnson made one significant addition to the list of the excluded: all those possessing taxable property exceeding $20,000 in value." (Divine, p. 465)

I will not live long enough to find out if Johnson's Plan worked; however, I have doubts in its ability. My father ended his journal with this quote and I feel it is an appropriate ending to this ending:

> "President Johnson did everything in his power to bring about a fair readjustment that would surely have been satisfactory to Lincoln. But he did not have the astuteness or the ability of his predecessor, and the cause was lost to a group of bitter legislators." (Newman, p. 393)

Journal Entry for August 14, 1869:

This will be my final entry. I was very interested in both Mr. Johnson and Mr. Lincoln and only wish I could have known more. It would have been nice if I had been born fifty years from now so that I could read book after book concerning them both, but that did not happen. I was lucky enough to have the opportunity to read my father's journal and that alone most young girls would never dream of, let alone attempt. I have chose to close with this statement:

> "To human apprehension, Andrew Johnson should have been the man to grapple with and crush the Rebellion, with Abraham Lincoln to pacify the country at its close and heal the gaping wounds opened by our years of desperate, bloody conflict; but it was otherwise decreed." (Mitgang, p. 470)

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PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S TWO GREAT MISTAKES

By JAMES P. VEVERKA

James P. Veverka was a student at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, when he submitted this winning paper. His teacher was Jerome Landman.

Our sixteenth President, the honorable Abraham Lincoln, was certainly among the greatest leaders of all times. However, he did make two serious mistakes, notably, his Vice Presidents. In a time of great turmoil and revolution, Mr. Lincoln chose his running mates poorly. In fact, all the Quayle jokes of today are nothing compared to the reality of his Vice-Presidents' ineptitudes.

Mr. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was President Lincoln's first Vice-President. He was not Lincoln's personal choice, but the result of a desperate election campaign for the Republicans. At that time, of course, the Republican party was relatively new (founded in 1854). Also, it was only the Republican's second presidential campaign. Their first candidate, in 1856, had been John C. Frémont. Although General Frémont did well in the election, his loss made it clear that several major changes would be necessary for the Republicans to win in 1860.

The Republicans had at first only campaigned for an end to the expansion of slavery into the territories. Eventually reality struck them and they adopted a much wider platform. They supported the Homestead Act. They supported working class laborers. They supported a protective tariff. More or less, they supported issues that the North was interested in. At the same time, the Republicans were seeking a rather conservative, unoffending candidate who would not lend himself to being dangerous to Southern interests. For this reason, they selected Abraham Lincoln...on the third ballot.

At the time of his nomination, Lincoln was a darkhorse candidate. He was nationally known for his debates during the 1858 Senatorial race against incumbent Senator Stephen

A. Douglas, but he had little reputation in politics. His only political experience at the national level was a single term in the House of Representatives. In fact, Lincoln's future Secretary of State, William H. Seward, was considered much earlier than Lincoln as the Republican party's candidate. Even Hannibal Hamlin, as poor a candidate as he would have made, had been considered before Lincoln. (Hamlin, 341) It was simply the lack of a suitable candidate for the party and Lincoln's speeches that made him the nominee in 1860. One speech in particular, made before the Young Men's Central Republican Union at the Cooper Institute in New York, virtually won the nomination for him. In it he said this:

> "Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let alone where it is,... but can we...allow it to spread to the Territories...? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively...Let us have faith that right makes right, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." (Barzman, IL)

This speech was printed in newspapers across the country, received excellent reviews from Republican editors, and was one of the most important causes of Lincoln's nomination. After a Presidential candidate was decided upon, a Vice-Presidential candidate needed to be selected. Seward's name was mentioned. However, Seward was much too controversial to be on the Republican ticket. The next choice logically was Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, the most popular candidate remaining. Nevertheless, Seward's friends at the convention had to be satisfied and, more importantly, Lincoln needed to win the election. Hamlin was from New England and would satisfy Seward's supporters. (Seward was from New York.) At the same time, Lincoln needed to carry the New England states. Ideally, Lincoln would collect votes from the western states, and Hamlin would do the same in the East. There is no way to be certain as to whether or not this strategy worked; however, Lincoln did win the election and did carry all of the Northeastern states.

If one looked strictly at Mr. Hamlin's political experience, he or she might think that Hamlin was more qualified than Lincoln for the Presidency. There is no doubt that Hamlin, having been both a governor and a Senator, did have some political expertise, but his views were so radically different from Lincoln's and his disgust with the office of the Vice-Presidency so strong that the Republicans couldn't have made a worse choice for a Vice President.

First, Hannibal Hamlin was a radical Republican. Born and raised in Maine, he grew up with strong abolitionist sentiments. He had won elections in the past partly on his strong anti-slavery stand. However, in the national arena, his inflexibility on the issue of slavery appealed the Southern states. Southern newspaper editors attacked him, sometimes on the basis of his racial background (Hamlin had a rather dark complexion.) One editor, from South Carolina remarked bitterly,

> "(The) Black Republicans (have put) a renegade Southron on one side for President,...and they put a man of colored blood on the other side of the ticket for Vice-president of the United State." (Barzman, 105)

The reference to Lincoln as a "renegade Southron," of course, refers to his birth in Kentucky.

Mr. Hamlin's disinterest in the Vice-Presidency was his other great flaw. The Republicans, more or less, nominated a man who didn't want the job. This is quite understandable when one considers that the only duty ever given to the Vice-President in the Constitution is to "be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided." Hamlin, who loved the power of being a Senator, was not content to be powerless for four of the most important years in our nation's history. As a Senator, he had enjoyed the authority that he had under the spoils system by granting positions in his office to his closest friends and most loyal supporters. As a Senator, he actually had a vote in Congress. As a Senator, he could debate on the Senate floor and fight against slavery. As a Senator, he was visible in the public eye. The Vice-Presidency offered none of this.

Lincoln gave him very few duties, which may hint at a weakness in their relationship. Hamlin also never sought out duties as Vice-President. Instead, he requested that the Senate elect a president *pro tempore* to preside over the Senate in his absence. This was common practice, having been outlined in the Constitution, but Vice-President Hamlin overused that clause, staying only a few weeks after the Congress convened each year. In this time, Hamlin returned to Maine to do work there, including guard duty and culinary work for the Maine Coast Guard. This, needless to say, was the lowest military rank ever given to a high official in the Executive Branch of government.

Perhaps it is to Mr. Hamlin's credit that he did something during his term as Vice-President, but it was an embarrassment to the Executive Branch and a waste of talent. Whether Hannibal Hamlin's lack of government responsibilities was his fault or Lincoln's is not clear. According to a flattering biography by Hannibal Hamlin's grandson, the Vice-President had tried to avoid both the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency for reasons of modesty. (Hamlin, 421) Hamlin himself had said that the thought of himself as the "most unimportant man in Washington, ignored by the President, the Cabinet, and Congress." (Barzman, 105)

That quote, in and of itself, raises serious questions about Lincoln and Hamlin's relationship. Mr. Hamlin had damaged his image during his Vice-Presidency by not showing the leadership necessary in such critical times. The Union was losing battle after battle, and Lincoln's reelection was a very dubious matter. Hamlin did not seem to be as influential in New England any more. For one thing, his own "supporters" deserted him at the Republican national convention in 1864. Before the second ballot, their votes for the Vice-Presidential candidate, including every vote in his home state of Maine, were given to support Andrew Johnson, Hamlin's opponent and successor to the Vice-Presidency.

This was the second serious mistake of the Republicans: nominating a Democrat for Vice-President. If Hamlin was not ideologically polarized enough to Lincoln, Johnson certainly would be. Andrew Johnson was not chosen for his political views so much as for the votes he could attract. Johnson was from Tennessee. When the Southern states seceded from the

Union, Johnson was the only Senator from the South to remain in Congress. An ardent War Democrat, Johnson had made beautiful speeches in defense of the Union. Although he incurred the wrath of his friends in the South, he earned the undying respect of Northern Congressmen. Johnson therefore would not repel votes from any of the Northern states, but being from the South, and owning slaves himself, he could assist Lincoln in capturing votes from border states such as Kentucky and Missouri.

Here again, there is no clear way of knowing if this strategy made any real difference in the election; nevertheless, Lincoln was President again in 1865...but only for a short time. On April 15, 1865, Johnson would be called upon to assume the task which Lincoln had started. Unfortunately, Johnson met with much less success than Lincoln probably would have. Johnson was off to a bad start from the day of inauguration as Vice-President.

Around the time of his inauguration, Mr. Johnson had contracted typhoid. For that reason, he was delirious. However, to add to that, he stared drinking that day to numb the pain from typhoid. Between being sick and drunk (from only a few glasses of wine), Mr. Johnson gave one of the briefest, most unstructured, and strangest inaugural addresses in history. (Speeches of Andrew Johnson, 457) He couldn't remember the names of the Cabinet members, wouldn't stop shouting about the glory of Tennessee, and didn't quit his speech until Mr. Hamlin told him to. For the next six weeks until Lincoln's assassination, Johnson was left to the task of playing down his reputation of not being able to "hold his liquor."

All the events of Johnson's Vice-Presidential inauguration were forgivable, but his stubbornness with Congress was not. There were the obvious and routine problems of a Democratic President and a Republican Congress, yet it was the issue of Reconstruction that set up the power struggle between the President and Congress. First was the issue of the freedmen. While Congress had passed the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth amendments and established the Freedmen's Bureau to secure the rights of former slaves, the President made efforts to resist enforcement of these acts. Johnson had nothing against emancipation, but he did not care in the least for freedmen's rights. The second major source of conflict was the way in which the federal government was going to deal with the former Rebels. President Johnson favored amnesty, whereas the Radical Republicans of Congress favored harsh punishments for the ex-Confederates. Virtually every bill that Congress sent to the President regarding Reconstruction was vetoed. Congress was perturbed by this and waited for their first chance to remove Johnson from office.

That chance came on August 11 of 1867, when Andrew Johnson suspended Edwin M. Stanton, his Secretary of War, without the Senate's permission. In doing this, he had violated the Tenure of Office Act recently passed by Congress over his veto. (Thomas, 542) After a few months, the House of Representatives had brought up charges of impeachment against the President. By only one vote, Johnson was spared removal from office. Nevertheless, his career died at that point.

Mr. Lincoln was a very talented man with many talented advisors. However, his Vice-Presidents were an exception to this rule. He most likely had very, very little part, if any, in choosing Hamlin as his first Vice-President. In Johnson's nomination, on the other hand, Lincoln is thought to have played a very crucial role. Whether Lincoln or other members of the Republican party are to be blamed for the poor choice in Vice-Presidents is irrelevant. Still, the fact that better choices could have been made is germane to the events in the Lincoln era.

The question now is "Who could have made a better Vice-President than Hamlin or Johnson?" Virtually any candidate would have been as good as Hamlin, but a few make more sense than others. First of all, Lincoln's chief rival in the contest for the Republican nomination, Senator Seward of New York, was a popular, as well as an able, candidate. Being from New York, he might have solicited the votes of the Northeast. As far as competence is concerned, Seward proved his abilities in the office of Secretary of State through numerous wise political dealings, such as the purchase of Alaska. Another possibility was Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury who, although he challenged the President in the election of 1864, seemed quite adept at his duties. Also, from his record on the Supreme Court, Chase appears to adhere to the Republican doctrine. The third possibility was Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, who, were it not for Seward's supporters, would have won the Vice-Presidential nomination.

In place of Johnson, Lincoln could have chosen one of his generals, or Seward. A general certainly would have been more impressive than a slave-owning Democrat from Tennessee. Of course, that general would have to be skilled politically as well as militarily, two traits that are rare to find in anyone. Also at that point, Seward's radical views would not have seemed so radical.

In Lincoln's time, the pool of gifted politicians was large. There were certainly dozens of men who could easily have made better Vice-Presidents to Lincoln than Hamlin and Johnson. Hamlin, during his term as Vice-President, spent more time cooking meals on a Coast Guard ship than in the Senate. Johnson began his career as President of the Senate by giving a speech while sick and stone drunk. Johnson's career almost ended because he dealt so poorly with Congress, who expected more of Lincoln's successor than they received. Undoubtedly, in an otherwise brilliant career, Lincoln and his party made their most utterly disgraceful mistakes in choosing Vice-Presidents.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HIS VICE-PRESIDENTS

By AUGUST WOHLT

August Wohlt was a student at Muncie Central High School in Muncie, Indiana, when he submitted this winner paper. His teacher was Janet Heath.

Abraham Lincoln is remembered as being one of the greatest Presidents in the history of the United States. We remember his rejoining of the Confederacy and the Union after the long and bloody Civil War, his Emancipation Proclamation, his Proclamation of Amnesty, and his Gettysburg Address among other things; but we know little about his relationship with his Vice-Presidents, the roles that they played and effects that they had in his administration. Andrew Johnson and Hannibal Hamlin had quite different relationships with the President and influenced his decisions in different ways.

Before continuing, it would be best to give a brief background of these men. Abraham Lincoln grew up in the slave state of Kentucky, and his family later moved to Indiana and then to Illinois. His education was scant. He rarely could attend school; yet, his despite parents' illiteracy, he learned to read and write at an early age. He spent all his free time as a child reading a variety of borrowed books. Much of the discourse he read was about law and politics, and was thus interested in these areas.

In 1830, at the age of twenty-one, Lincoln moved to New Salem and was employed in a number of small, odd jobs. Shortly thereafter he was elected as the captain of the Thirty-First Regiment of the Illinois militia, organized against an Indian threat in the northern part of the state. After his return to Salem, he campaigned to be a member of the Illinois legislature and was elected; thus forming the beginning of his political career.

During the next few years, Lincoln was elected three more times to the state legislature. In 1846, he was elected to Congress as a Whig congressman and moved to

Washington with his wife and children. After his term in Congress expired, he returned to Springfield and resumed his law practice until the Missouri Compromise was repealed and the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. The Kansas-Nebraska compromise of 1850 was initiated by Senator Stephen Douglas. Douglas wanted to get southern votes to form Kansas and Nebraska territories to obtain land grants for a railroad through the area. To get the southern votes, the new compromise repealed the previous Missouri compromise which forbade slavery in the lands west of Iowa and Missouri, and stated that the slave status in the area would be determined by popular sovereignty - that is, the people living there would vote on whether they wanted slavery in their land or not. This really angered Lincoln. He was strongly against the spread of slavery, and consequently he jumped back into his political career and advocated the repeal of the new bill.

Four years later, in 1858, Lincoln campaigned against Douglas for the Senate in a series of renowned debates. He ended up losing the campaign and returned once again to his law practice. However, the debates made Lincoln famous, and in 1860, the National Republican party convention nominated him for the Presidency. In order to strengthen the ticket, the politicians of the convention decided to complement Lincoln's western Whig qualities with those of an eastern Republican who had Democratic affiliations. The man they felt best qualified for the Vice-President position was Senator Hannibal Hamlin (Carroll 147).

Senator Hamlin was a tall, comely figure with black, piercing eyes, and such a dark complexion that it was rumored he had negro blood which accounted for his radical reputation in the Senate when it came to slavery (Sandburg 3: 155). In the tiny village of Paris in Maine, 1809, he was born. Hamlin, as Lincoln did, grew up a lover of books. His father was a leading man in the community and made sure that Hamlin received an excellent education. Hamlin studied at the Hebron Academy and had become a prominent man of law in his area by the age of twenty-four.

After moving to Hampden, Hamlin was elected as a Democratic representative in the state legislature. He held this position for five years, and then became a member of Congress in 1843. For four years as a Congressman, Hamlin repeatedly made apparent his extreme anti-slavery views and his opinion toward the atrophy of the Democratic party. It was during his second year in Congress that he represented the Wilmot Proviso. According to Hamlin's grandson, Mr. Wilmot claimed he was purposefully detained by the President in an attempt to stop the Proviso (Hamlin 1: 161), which would outlaw slavery in newly acquired territories.

For the next eight years, Hamlin served as a Democrat in the United States Senate and strongly advocated all of the Democratic principles except slavery. He was a firm believer in halting the spread of slavery and would not support Pierce's repeal of the Missouri Compromise. During his last year, however, Hamlin decided that the Democratic party had strayed away from its main principles and had become corrupt (Carroll 138). Hamlin therefore switched to the newly formed Republican party and continued as a prominent figure for another four years in the Senate, supporting Republican views.

After a series of three ballots, the national Republican convention in Chicago in 1860 had nominated Abraham Lincoln for President and was looking for a Vice-Presidential candidate. The convention decided to pick Hamlin because of his eastern origin and his background with the Democrats. Despite his great reluctance to give up his Senate seat for the position of Vice-President, Hamlin was chosen as Lincoln's running mate and was convinced to accept the position (Hamlin 2: 350). Hamlin felt that the Vice-President's position was more distinguished than his Senate position but was less influential (Carroll 148). As it turned out, he exerted quite an influence on Lincoln's administration after they were inaugurated on March 4, 1861.

Hannibal Hamlin was a man of tact and experience. He had served as an administrative figure in the Senate for twelve long years on both the Democratic and Republican sides. He did not serve as a man of speech; he was a man of quick decisive action. Hamlin vigorously supported his beliefs, beliefs extremely like those of Lincoln. It was predicated that he would become an important person in Lincoln's administration. The relationship between Hamlin and Lincoln became one filled with respect and confidence. Lincoln welcomed openly any advice that the Vice-President might have and always did anything Hamlin asked of him (Carroll 154). In turn, Hamlin was a loyal advisor and friend to Lincoln. He had a strong voice in the choosing of Lincoln's Cabinet members and the conduct of the administration. Even in the later years, when there was a growing discontent among the people about Lincoln, Hamlin tried to get them to support the President.

Both Lincoln and his Vice-President shared a common view towards slavery. They were both strongly against its spread and firmly felt it should be abolished. In their campaign they did not advocate the abolition of slavery altogether, but instead, they campaigned against its spread into the new territories. Neither Lincoln nor Hamlin was quite sure as to the method they should use to do away with the institution. At the very onset of the great Civil War, it is said that Hamlin "foresaw that [the war's] ultimate result must be the liberation of the slaves" (Carroll 158). Hamlin, therefore, urged the President time and time again during the first years of the war to write some sort of proclamation, abolishing the institution of slavery. Finally, a few days after the great battle of Antietam, on September 21, 1862, the President arranged a dinner meeting at his summer residence with his Vice-President and went over a draft of his great Emancipation Proclamation before he presented it to his Cabinet. The final Emancipation Proclamation, published the following Monday, stated that any slave in Confederate territory would be free as of January the following year. Lincoln was very dissatisfied with the effects of the proclamation, as it did not free a single slave, but it did give the tired and battle-worn Union soldiers another cause for which to fight.

Another similar incident of great importance to history was the decision to give blacks arms so that they could help fight for the Union in the Civil War. Congress had passed a law allowing blacks to join the United States armed forces, but few did until Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. The proclamation gave blacks a reason to pour into the United States militia. They did, in great numbers. The man who convinced the President to support this was none other than his Vice-President Hamlin. Many army officers and members of Lincoln's Cabinet had frequently urged the President to organize black armies during the early war years, but to no avail. Finally, in wild desperation, a number of officers went to Hamlin's residence and begged him to talk to the President. The next day, he and the army officers spoke with Lincoln. Hamlin's influence upon the President was quite apparent by the rapidity with which Lincoln wrote out the order to the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, to organize colored troops (Carroll 160).

President Lincoln continued to have the utmost confidence and respect for his Vice-President's opinions right up to the end of their term; but, that was not reason enough for Lincoln to request Hamlin a second time. Another election was rolling around, and things were about to change.

Lincoln was wary, at first, about running for a second term of office, but he soon realized that no one else was really qualified to lead the nation through the rest of the war and its aftermath. To win the election, Lincoln desperately needed the support of not only the Republicans, but also backup from the Democratic party. Despite the relationship between Lincoln and his Vice-President, Hamlin's brief membership in the Democratic party would hardly suffice. Besides, Hamlin was from the North. Lincoln needed a good deal of Southern support in order to be re-elected. What he needed was a Southern "War Democrat of vote getting appeal" (Thomas 267).

At first, Lincoln's interests leaned toward a Democratic Union General named Benjamin Franklin Butler. Butler politely refused, thinking, as most politicians of the time, that Lincoln's chances at re-election were anything but good (Sandburg 3: 87). Lincoln then turned to a loyal friend and associate, also a Democrat, whom he had appointed military governor of Tennessee.

The military governor was Andrew Johnson and was well known for his vote-getting appeal. On the strength of some rumors that Johnson was a heavy drinker and abused his power as military governor, Lincoln sent General Daniel Sickles to observe Johnson and to report on his habits back to Lincoln. The returned report concluded that the rumor was just that -- a rumor. In fact, Johnson rarely drank, which was anything but typical of a Tennessee man, and he never used his powerful position in any way unnecessarily. President Lincoln thereupon made it known that he wanted Johnson promptly stuck on the ballot as the next Vice-President.

Hannibal Hamlin mildly disliked the "uninfluential" position of Vice-President and was hesitant to be a candidate in the upcoming elections. He did not decline candidacy, though, and his name was entered into the campaign at the National Union Convention in Baltimore. Hamlin was badly defeated. The convention nominated Andrew Johnson on a vote of 494 to Hamlin's meager 27. This did not upset Hamlin at all, though. Hamlin was quite happy when he was subsequently re-elected to his seat in the Senate shortly thereafter, and there he remained for the next twelve years. For two years after that position, Hamlin was a Minister to Spain for President Garfield, after which he retired to Maine. He lived the next eight years of his life in his peaceful residence in Maine.

Andrew Johnson was, like Lincoln, born to an impoverished frontier family. He grew up in Raleigh, North Carolina, never laying eyes upon the inside of a school house and was apprenticed to a tailor at the age of fourteen. For two years Johnson suffered in a dark and crowded tailor shop, after which he fled to North Carolina in 1824 and opened his own tailor shop. The next year he returned, only to move with his family to Greenville, Tennessee. Here Johnson opened another tailor shop, and married. It was his wife who took the responsibility of encouraging his education. Johnson soon became quite learned in American history, politics, and studied the Constitution. He subsequently became very active in politics, and in the years following, Johnson was elected Mayor of Greenville three times, and became a member of the lower house of the Tennessee Legislature. Following a two-year stay in the Tennessee State Senate, he became a Congressman, and served in the House of Representatives for ten years.

Johnson's attitude towards slavery was rather different than that of Lincoln's or Hamlin's. Johnson owned eight slaves himself; but judging from his actions in Congress, one would have found it difficult to tell. Johnson seemed to be sitting on the border between anti-slavery and pro-slavery. He would vote for the admission of some states with slavery, and others he would support as free states.

In 1846, while in Congress, Johnson introduced his famous Homestead Bill. The bill, if passed, would give 160 acres of land to a household as long as the land was cultivated for five years. The Bill did not pass in the Senate, and until it did he would fight for it at every House meeting. Sixteen years later, the Homestead Bill was finally accepted.

Johnson knew that his chances for re-election in 1853 were slim. He instead ran for Governor of Tennessee and was elected in 1853. He was re-elected once again before a unanimous vote elected him as a United States Senator. While in the Senate, Lincoln was elected President, and the greatest crisis in our history, the Civil War, precipitated. Despite Johnson's being a southern Senator, he did strongly advocate the Union and the Lincoln administration during the President's terms.

In the very first year of the war, Tennessee voted for secession from the United States despite pleas from their former Governor Andrew Johnson. The following year, Tennessee was claimed by Union forces. Under Lincoln's request, Senator Johnson resigned from his Senate seat and became Military Governor of the state claimed behind Confederate lines. Johnson quickly moved into the capital city, Nashville, to assume his new duties. This was no easy task. The risk of being captured and executed, along with the turbulent rivalry from the Tennessee rebels, was constantly upon him, but he knew his job; he bore the troubles of it without complaint. And of this, Lincoln was fully aware and grateful (Winston 251).

The relationship between Lincoln and Johnson was here firmly established as a cordial one. Throughout the Civil War, they were in constant communication while Johnson stubbornly defended Nashville against various Confederate attempts at its capture. Johnson's rule in Nashville was well known all over the country. The Northerners praised him while the Confederates detested him. At the approach of the next Presidential election, Lincoln decided to "honor him as he had never honored another" (Winston 253). He chose Johnson for Vice-President. At the Baltimore convention in 1865, Lincoln and Johnson were chosen without much opposition as President and Vice-President-elect, as opposed to the Democratic George McClellan.

On March 4, 1865, Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, who had just recovered from an illness, were sworn into office. A little anecdote of interest accompanied this ceremony. As was mentioned earlier, intemperance was not among Johnson's qualities. Somewhat ironically, feeling a little ill before he was to make his inaugural address, Johnson mentioned to ex-Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin that his doctor had prescribed a small amount of whiskey as an aid to help him feel better. Hamlin had some brandy brought to the office, and Mr. Johnson took a shot of it. It was soon time for him to make his speech and, in an attempt to calm his nerves, he drank some more. This proved for some rather embarrassing behavior and surprising drunken speech, lasting well over his allotted time. Lincoln and other friends of Johnson tried to calm and assure the people the rather unwonted mishap Johnson had made was not typical of him. But it was many peoples' first look at the Vice-President and consequently many were left with a bad impression of the man from the very start (Morrow 292-300).

The Vice-Presidential position really deteriorated the cordial relationship that had been established between Johnson and Lincoln when Johnson was Military Governor of Tennessee. Johnson was not like Hamlin as a Vice-President. Although he shared the same views on slavery and reconstruction as Lincoln and Hamlin, Johnson's contributions to Lincoln's administration were no more than any other Cabinet member. He was not a close advisor and friend to the President as Hamlin had been. Perhaps this would have changed had he been Vice-President for a while longer.

During the five and a half weeks that he was Vice-President, Johnson vigorously advocated the handling of Jefferson Davis and the other leading Confederate rebels, and supported the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Radicals said that "Johnson, at that time, was Vice-President and clothed with no authority in the premises" (Winston 266).

Things soon changed, however, with the assassination of the President. Five days after the South surrendered, on April 14, 1865, Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln were at Ford's Theatre for a performance of "Our American Cousin" when John Wilkes Booth, a mad Confederate patriot, shot the President and fled. Other members of this conspiracy were to kill Johnson and Secretary of State Seward, as well. The attempts at the lives of the latter two failed. On the next day Abraham Lincoln died, and Andrew Johnson became the next President of the United States of America. Johnson was left to deal with the aftermath of a nation that had been torn apart by a long and bloody Civil War.

Andrew Johnson had been hesitant when asked just to run for Vice-President and was hardly prepared by this calamity which landed the Presidency in his lap. Neither was the Republican Administration or the general public for that matter. The Republicans had nominated Johnson simply to get the Democratic element of the voters; they hardly expected him to become President! The people did not expect it, either. Those who didn't know Johnson well remembered his ignominious behavior at the inauguration ceremony. The Southerners remembered Johnson's strict military capture and rule of Nashville. He tried to be like Lincoln. Johnson tried to initiate the policies laid out previously by Lincoln and, at the same time, strictly adhere to the Constitution out of fear of being thrown out of office.

Johnson's Military Governor traits woefully replaced Lincoln's adroitness and elegance, though. Johnson was stubborn and full of argument. He refused the Republican request to assemble Congress and tried to run the country himself (Boorstin et al. 304), as he had run Nashville. Time and time again, Congress passed bills over Johnson's vetoes. Reconstruction moved slowly under his administration.

In 1868, Johnson was impeached. He remained President, though, by one vote, and soon a new election came up. This time, an important Union General in the Civil War, Ulysses S. Grant, was elected, and Johnson returned to Greenville. Johnson failed to win election to the Senate and Congress during the next few years. In 1875, he was elected as a Senator for the last time and used the position to verbally attack the Grant administration (Dickinson 29). In the summer of that year, at the age of 66 Johnson died. His wife died the following year.

Had Lincoln remained to see what happened to his administration, he might have been sorry that he did not choose Hannibal Hamlin for his second term. Hamlin was, in more ways, like Lincoln than was Johnson. Hamlin possessed some of the same Lincoln wit and tact that Johnson lacked and was much more active as Vice-President than Tennessee's Democratic tailor. Hamlin was politically as well as amicably involved with the Chief Magistrate, urging and advising him. Johnson was not. Johnson was more of a strict, proud sort of man who did not have the same sort of friendly relationship with Lincoln when he was Vice-President as Hamlin had. If Hamlin had been the second Vice-President, perhaps upon Lincoln's assassination he could have more effectively continued the Lincoln era.

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